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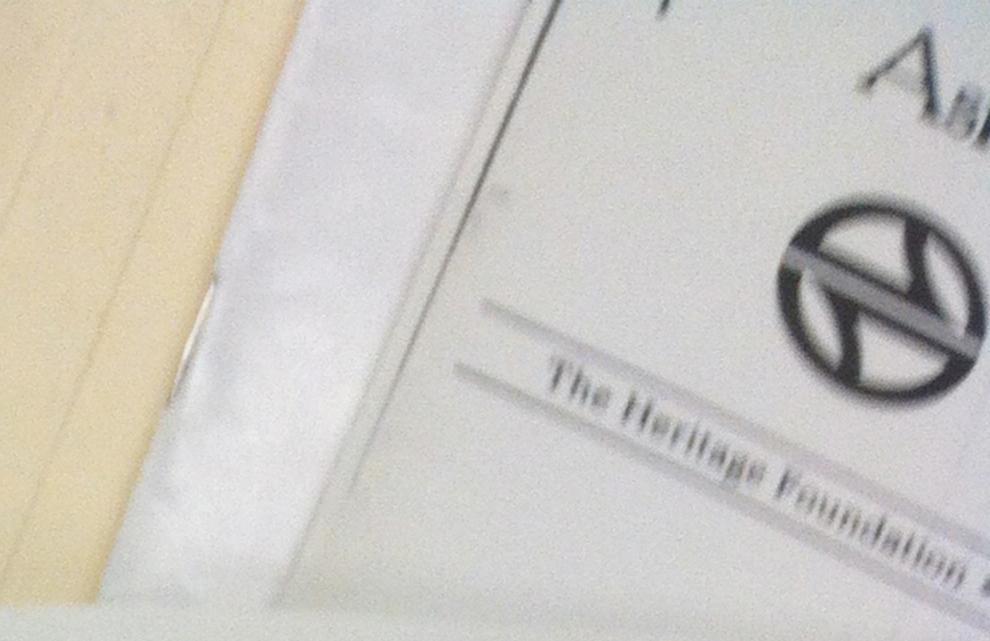
THE PRODUCERS

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Burma, at the heart of the Golden Triangle, continues to be the largest producer of illicit opium in the world. The major portion of the crop is produced in areas dominated by drug trafficking groups—most of them insurgents, but some not—who remain outside the effective control of the central government, the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma (SRUB). Inaccessibility has hampered the government's ambitious eradication efforts and makes accurate estimates of production difficult.

At the end of the 1950s, all of Burma's borders were affected by the eruption of tribal insurrections, most particularly in the Kachin and Shan States, those states having retained a certain autonomy during the period of British rule. The Shan States were still governed by sawbwas (feudal princes), and the Kachin States by duwas (traditional chiefs). Under their administrations, the cultivation of opium was restricted. This is significant, since the main zones of poppy cultivation are situated within the Shan States, which constitutes the major part of the Golden Triangle, and in the Kachin State. In 1982, these areas produced 263,000 viss of opium (438 tons) and recent estimates put output at 534 tons for 1984 and 424 tons for 1985.

*A participant in the International Opium Convention at The Hague in 1912, Burma in 1912 implemented Article 295 of the convention with new legislation restricting the sale of opium. The Shan States, at that time administratively autonomous, were much affected by the new laws as the Shan State Opium Order of



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1923 applied only to them. Until 1964, they were allowed. cultivate, sell, and consume opium in the territories east of Salween river, where opium culture was more than two cents. old. The Burmese Government issued licenses to certain shops the western territories to market a certain quantity of opion, a amount being determined by the number of registered opin different from those in the Shan States. Until 1945, poppy medical purposes was prohibited.

States, the difficulties presented by the terrain are accentuated; from the cloth and settled to the bottom of the vessel, a harsh climate and a chronic tack of public administration. I The escalation of insurrections in the early 1960s led to an

156,000 viss (260 tons), consisting of 105,000 viss (175 tons) from the Kokang and Wa States, 33,000 viss (55 tons) from the Eastern Frontier Region, and 18,000 viss (30 tons) from the western Salween area.

The conditions prevailing in the Kachin State were very smokers, each of whom was entitled to two viss (3.2 kilogram cultivation was undertaken only in the hills of the Hukawng a year. Throughout the rest of Burma, the use of opium forms Valley, where it had been introduced from India two centuries before, and in the Triangle region in the far north of Kachin State In 1961, the Frontier Areas Administration (FAA) which produced opium of a much poorer quality and on a smaller established to administer those areas of the Shan States whichia scale. At the beginning of the 1960s, the Shan and Kachin States not previously been subject to Burmese legislation. The FAAha increased illegal opium trafficking. However, the morphine jurisdiction over the Kokang and Wa States (the later divided in content of the opium produced in the Hukawng Valley was the Northern Wa State and the Southern Wa State) and also of the insignificant, falling short of the international standard demanded Eastern Frontier Region, comprising the districts of Kengtung by the drug trade. The extraction methods used in the valley were Tachileck, and Mong Ton. The area of the Shan States to the ear very primitive: the coagulated opiate sap being collected from of the Salween is characterized by rugged, sparsely populate incisions in the capsules with a cloth which was then soaked in land with no roads other than mule tracks. In the Kokang and was container of lukewarm water where the opiate sap separated

addition to these problems, the agricultural production of importincrease in opium production in the Kachin State. Geographical erished hilltribes remain in a state of deficit for seven months isolation, ethnic complexity, and poverty played the same role the year. The opium poppy is the main crop and covers 90 perces here as in the Shan States. FAA prerogatives were extended to the of the cultivated land surface. The hilltribe people depend a Putao and Laukhaung Districts in order to bring the Triangle opium as a cash crop since their low rice yield barely feeds then region on the Chinese border under FAA control. These areas let alone enabling them to purchase basic necessities. Howele supply the greatest quantity of opium, which, though inferior in the return on their labor is a mere pittance as compared with the quality to that of the Shan States still has a higher concentration profits accruing to the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Shan States at the Manager Popper Concentration of the Shan States at the Shan S profits accruing to the rebels and the Chinese traffickers. At the of morphine than the opium produced in Hukawng Valley, Poppy end of World War II. end of World War II, the production of opium in the Shan State Cultivation and the consumption of opium have been illegal in was nearing the 40 to a consumption of opium in the Shan State Cultivation and the consumption of opium have been illegal in was nearing the 40 ton per annum mark. In 1982, it reaches Kachin State since 1946, except for a certain amount of produc

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tion for members of the hilltribes who until 1963 were pends to possess a small quantity of the drug. In 1982, the total operation and involve other insurgent groups, such as the production of Kachin State rose to 178 tons. Two-thirds Kachin Independence Army (KIA), the Wa National Organizanated from the southern part of the Kachin State (from tion (WNO), and the Shan State Army-North (SSA-N). Sino-Palaung region) and from the northern border of the Shan State Thai traffickers purchase the major portion of drugs moving Since 1965, poppy cultivation and the consumption by

Illicit narcotics leave Burma as raw opium, pitzu (impure

have made it impossible to enforce the law. Furthermore the 1986-87 crops were processed in refineries. Of this amount, an and continual amendments to Burmese laws regarding heroin. It is estimated that 31 to 35 metric tons of opium from the trading of opium have been prohibited by law throughout Bun morphine base), morphine

tion and committee commot or mille forts of the Huma Communist production potential of between 1 020 and 1 265. yielding at 25 metric tons of raw opium moved out of Burma through oplum before eradication. Depressed and 1,365 metric tons Thailand, while 40 to 50 metric tons of oplum reached China. It is estimated that between 92 son and 124 oon to do Shan State refineries and 18 some doubt as to whether Burmese leaders even wish to the estimated 13 to 15 metric tons was refined in the northeastern before eradication. Depressed economic conditions, India, Bangladesh, or even levoted to opium poppy cultivation in 1988 via 131. border refineries. Of the remaining production, approximately Party (BCP) to increase cultivishipments. further affeld as international sea

government. where yields are higher and stand less risk of destruction by # \$5,768 a year earlier. where yields are higher and seast of the Salween Riv of heroin cost as little as \$3,300 in late 1987 as compared to previously believed to be heavily planted, such as Tauggyi, b There are also indications that concentrations are not in the are There are also indications that commence in productic competing with the Shan United Army for domination of the its areas, and excellent oph Continued challenges by groups of traffickers-cum-insurgents Burma-Thai border areas have begun to undercut the artificially

other countries to the south, account for the balance of the leaving Burma crosses into Thailand. Other routes, to India and are located. An estimated 80 to 85 per cent of the illicit narcotic of the Thai-Burma border areas where the bulk of the refinerie BCP, Khun Sa's Shan United Army (SUA) still maintains contre While most cultivation occurs in areas under control of the The BCP started as ideological revolutionaries but have become such as the Third and Fifth Chinese Irregular Forces (CIF), (a.k.a. Khun Sa) of the SUA. Several of the trafficking groups, deeply involved in drug trafficking in recent years. Some of the groups are ethnic, such as Others are profit-seeking warlord smugglers, like Chang Chi-fu All of the insurgent groups in Burma have diverse origins. the Karen, Kachin, Lahu, and Wa.

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which has a large Kachin population. Palaung region) and from the northern border of the Shan Shan Thai traffickers purchased across the Thai border while Indian traffickers are the major across the Rurma-Indian border. tion for members of the hilltribes who until 1963 were pent to possess a small quantity of the drug. In 1982, the total operated drugs and involve other insurgent groups, such as the production of Kachin State rose to 178 tons. Two-thirds operated from the southern part of the Kachin State (from tion (WNO), and the Shan State Army-North (SSA-N). Sino-Palaung region) and from the northern border of the Shan State Thai traffickers purchase the major portion of drugs moving the major portion of drugs moving the southern border of the Shan State Thai border while Indian traffickers are the major Since 1965, poppy cultivation and the consumption buyers on the Burma-Indian border. ing of opium have been prohibited by law throughout R. Illicit narcotics leave Burma as

However, the underdeveloped conditions, isolation, rebellimorphine pase, more processed in refineries. Of this amount, an trading of opium have been prohibited by law throughout Bun morphine base), morphine base,

forts of the Burma Communist Party (BCP) to increase cultiv shipments. opium before eradication. Depressed economic conditions, Inauanu, while the Burma Communication of the production potential of between 1,020 and 1,365 metric tons. Thailand, while 40 to 50 metric tons of opium reached China, sea were devoted to opium poppy cultivation in 1988, yielding ato 25 metric tons of raw opium It is estimated that between 92.800 and 124 non hard Shan State refineries and 18 to 20 metric tons in the Thai-Burma and continual amendments to Burmese laws regarding opin heroin. It is common the processed in refineries. Of this amount, an have made it impossible to enforce the law. Furthermore the 1986-87 crops were processed in refineries. Of this amount, and the northeastern the control was refined in the northeastern than the control of the co It is estimated that between 92,800 and 124,000 hecta border refineries. Of the remaining production, approximately

government. exist in insurgent-controlled areas east of the Salween Riw of heroin cost as little as \$3,300 in late 1987 as compared to government. exist in insurgent-controlled areas east of the controlled areas east of t There are also indications that concentrations are not in the are Burma-Thai border areas have begun to undercut the artificially There are also indications that communications that communications the artificially growing weather all control of its areas, and excellent opin Continued challenges by groups of traffickers-cum-insurgents

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other countries to the south, account for the balance of the leaving Burma crosses into Thailand. Other routes, to India and are located. An estimated 80 to 85 per cent of the illicit narcotic of the Thai-Burma border areas where the bulk of the refinerie BCP, Khun Sa's Shan United Army (SUA) still maintains control deeply involved in drug trafficking in recent years. Some of the While most cultivation occurs in areas under control of the BCP started as ideological revolutionaries but have become such as the Third and Fifth Chinese Irregular Forces (CIF), (a.k.a. Khun Sa) of the SUA. Several of the trafficking groups, Others are profit-seeking warlord smugglers, like Chang Chi-fu

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constant drain on Burma's limited material and human resourareas. ment, but they do dominate the ment, but they do dominate the border regions and solutions against the BCP and has and local officials in neighboring countries. None of the Blocal of the remnants of the Kuomintang (KMT), have ties with business, border regions and repressive as ment control which have The Burma Army launched and sustained a counter-offen-

occupied areas long outside

been prime poppy growing

eliminating illicit narcotics production and trafficking chemicals. Major cases included: Burmese have continued their determined offermined offermined of the continued their determined offermined o climinating illicit narcotics production and committee force (PPF) contributed to major seizures of drugs and precursor The Burmese government views narcotics producing organization of the special narcotics task force one as a threat to national security and remains. units of the People's Police

and human cost. SRUB losses narcotics-insurgency problem year around at a heavy finankilograms of heroin. In Mandalay, 190 gallons of acetic anhyand human cost Spring loss in the second at a heavy finankilograms of heroin. In Mandalay, 190 gallons of acetic anhyand human cost Spring loss in the second and human cost Spring loss in the second and human cost Spring loss in the second and human cost Spring loss in the second at a heavy finankilograms of heroin. In Mandalay, 190 gallons of acetic anhyand human cost Spring loss in the second at a heavy finankilogram of heroin. Burmese have continued their determined efforts to cope with In January, the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was around at the cope with In January, the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was around at the cope with In January, the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was around at the cope with In January, the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was around at the cope with In January, the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was around at the cope with In January, the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January, the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January, the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January, the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January at the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January at the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January at the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January at the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January at the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January at the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January at the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January at the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January at the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem was a cope with In January at the PPF drug task force in Lashio seized 21 harcotics-insurgency problem wa in actions against traffigdride were seized from a river boat

insurgents have averaged approximately 100 men per mg Combined choice resulted in the seizure of 140 gallons of killed in action.

Shan State in January 1987. The SRUB reported a total destination of 16,000 hectares despite an early recession of containing the product of The 1987 poppy cradication campaign was initiated in acetic anhydride in Meiktila in February.

spraying and 7,120 hectares by manual eradication. Major Bun 1,340 kilograms of opium, 54.3 kilograms of heroin No. 4, 292 Army (BA) operations included. order to respond to a major BCP offensive in the northern Sh Police Force throughout the tion of 16,000 hectares despite an early cessation of spraying Sustained actions by the The reported destruction included 9,160 hectares by aell Through November 1987, incomplete reports show the seizure of the sei Burma Army and the People's

January counter-offensive, Scizure of a major heroin refinery at Pang Hsai during and large quantities of various other chemicals as well as refining and large quantities of various other chemicals as well as refining

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permanent garrisons at the sites, the eastern Shan State, For the first and destroyed four SUA refinery sites in Mong Hsat township approved the initiation of an aerial survey of poppy growing areas the eastern Shan State. For the first time army units During an eight day operation in time, army units establishe in Burma, a major step forward in estimating production baselines. February, BA units captum paraphernalia.

The SRUB's Central Committee for Drug Abuse Control has

resulted in seizures of drugs and precursor chemicals. resulted in seizures of drugs and precursor chemical trafficket movement of narcotics from producing areas to processing movements in the Shan State. Clashes with the caused disruption to call action limiting and reducing opium production, preventing the centers and foreign markets striking at processing centers and

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and reducing Burma's domestic demand for narcotics, primary focus is to eliminate opium production in those tral Committee for Drug Abuse Control (CCDAC). The CCDAC trafficking organizations, finding alternate income for grown Drugs, the U.S., and Khu, The Producers

tions behind them, the Burmese With two years' of experience in aerial eradication of representation of the Burnese have set a minimum anti-narcotics activities throughout the country. have set a minimum goal

legislation. money-laundering country, there range from fines to capital punishment. Since Burma is no necessity for separate legislation. Penalties for narcotics violation Asset seizure is built into the basic law, thereby obviating is currently no need for su

appeal and no executions as yet have been carried out. down eight death sentences for trafficking. The cases are und courts often impose severe sentences, having since 1986 hand offenders are apprehended and convicted, however, Burme implementing the various provisions of the narcotic law. Wh Burmese enforcement agencies have had limited success Because of the insurgencies and the scope of the proble

or scientific research in Burma. cotic drugs. There are no legal uses of heroin in medical treatmen conviction of narcotics users and traffickers or seizures of nar system of rewards for information leading to the arrest an In addition, the Burmese government has established

under government control and to launch major military of is chaired by finister serving as Secretary. Deputy Ministers from tions into insurgent areas in order to disrupt production and the Deputy Minister serving as Secretary. Deputy Ministers from the heads of various sub-committees are primary focus is to eliminate opium production in those tral Commune Minister of Home and Religious Affairs, with under government control and to launch major military, is chaired by the Minister serving as Secretary. Deputy Ministers from represented. The CCDAC establishes policy and coordinates

Asset seizure is built into it. in 1983, provides stiff penalties and legal sanctions against en Services Intelligence (DDSI), the Bureau of Special Investigative arms of destruction of 20,235 hectares of opium poppies during the ly ment are the People's Police Force (PPF), the Burma Army (BA), 88 season. Burma's Narcotic and Dangerous Drug Act of 1974, amen National Intelligence Bureau (NIB), the Directorate of Defense in Burma, but the SRUB is acting to suppress it. the Burma Socialist Program Party, and local People's Councils. Narcotics related corruption remains a problem at the local level and the Burma Air Force (BAF). Subsidiary agencies include the

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programs. countries periodically visit Burma to consult with SRUB offi-(UNFDAC) has a representative assigned to manage its own cials. The United Nations stationed in Burma. Narcotics attaches based in neighboring There are no narcotics control officials from other countries Fund for Drug Abuse Control

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provided to command-level officers in the past ten years, and the given by the People's Poli improvement noted in police narcotics investigations suggests that the training is paying dividends. The SRUB recognizes that training to enhance the capabilities of the PPF in the performance there is an urgent and continuing need for drug enforcement of its basic task. Anti-narcotics techniques are included in the basic training ice Force. U.S. training has been

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infantry officers. courses for U.S. Army Special Forces officers, Rangers, courses requested have counter-narcotics implications, e anti-smuggling training. Many of the regular IMET programment of the regular implication of the regular implication of the regular implication. request, the U.S. has provided information on U.S. Coast Culture The Theory of the Coast Culture Theory of the Coa narcotics aviation training to Burma. In addition, at Burmation on 11 S C. (IMET) program provided over \$80,000 in FY1987 for com The U.S. International Military Education and Thair

number of other ministries have contributed resources to rela responsible for the drug rehabilitation program, although detoxification. The Ministry of Social Welfare is priman Health is responsible for treatment of drug abusers and Education and the Ministry of Information. The Ministry Preventive education is carried out by both the Ministry

is 3,500 to 4,000 addicts. fication treatment. The estimated annual capacity of the center 730 beds; heroin addicts are provided with 10 weeks of deton fication centers throughout Burma with a combined capacity. The Ministry of Health supervises

ers estimate that the total number of addicts actually may be three polydrugs in combination with alcohol). However, some observ-(a major problem for health authorities is the growing abuse of addicted to other drugs including marijuana and synthetic drug ing 9,253 heroin addicts, 32,939 opium addicts, and 5,041 people Ministry of Health, there were 47,233 registered addicts, include treatment and rehabilitation. As of late law to register, and, after registration, to under compulsor and that heroin addiction has declined. Addicts are required The Burmese believe the overall addiction rate has stabilize

The Producers

times higher than the number of registered addicts.

narcotics consumed domestically, but commonly accepted estiequivalent, per addict per year. Assuming 120,000 narcotics mates put the figure at one kilogram of opium, or its refined addicts, consumption would total 120,000 kilograms of opium to opium cultivation. million, an undetermined proportion of which live in proximity been accounted for. The hilltribe population is estimated at 6 for large quantities of the estimated annual crop which have not per year. However, substantial usage by hilltribes could account It is impossible to accurately estimate the amount of illicit

primarily in northern and eastern Burma, dispersed across an area opium is grown in areas of the Kayah State, the Karen State, the tion regions are in the Shan and Karen States, although some roughly the size of Louisiana or Portugal. The principal cultivainsurgent groups seeking to support their activities through the can be directly attributed to the increased involvement of various Mandalay Division, and the Chin State. Opium has long been international drug trade. grown by the hilltribes, but the current high level of production Opium is cultivated in tens of thousands of small fields,

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major part of the local economy. Farmers grow opium poppy as Independence Army (KIA). In the growing areas, narcotics are a Party (BCP), the Shan United Army (SUA), and the Kachin but increased refining activity has been documented in areas income, or in response to coercion by insurgent groups. In the away from the border under the control of the Burma Communist a principal cash crop to supplement subsistence food crops and Most refining locations remain near the Burma-Thai border, cultivation areas controlled by the BCP, there are numerous

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not growing food crops. to grow opium at the expen Drugs, the U.S., and king The Producers

September to March. clustered near villages. The opium growing season extendsh fields are located in nearly inaccessible areas, but other 0.1 to 4.0 hectares, with an average size of 0.5 hectare, to over 2,500 meters (8,200 feet). The poppy fields range Burma. It is mountainous throughout, with some peaks exten The Shan Plateau is the principal poppy growing and

opium production areas. administrative, military, or enforcement presence in most of primitive, and the Burmese government has little or no politic few roads extending into these remote and rugged areas, terrain are as good as any in the world for poppy cultivation.] 80 inch rainfall. Except for years the Shan Plateau receives approximately 90 per cent of its ann season, which extends from June to October. During this period continental monsoons, the southwest monsoon bringing then Burma's climate is tropical and is dominated by two a

these areas because of the lack of roads and transport. SRUB would be unable to institute substitute crop programs: farmers away from growing poppy as their major cash crop. I At this time, the government

operations are major factors inhibiting narcotics traffickers. efforts of the SRUB in eradication, interdiction, and anti-refinery even greater impact on the crop in 1989. Increasingly effective aerial eradication gains momentum, many observers anticipal program throughout the Shan controlled territory. As the SRU depend on the implementation of a full-scale aerial eradication A significant further reduction in illicit drug production wi

DRUG PRODUCTION IN

1987-19881

HEROIN AND OTHER DERIVATIVES Produced (mt) Seized in country (mt) Consumed in country (mt) Exported to USA (mt) Exported elsewhere (mt) 54 1.00 65.00	OPIUM Cultivated (ha) Eradicated (ha) Harvested (ha) Yield (mt) ² Loss factor (mt) Consumed (mt) Seized (mt) Stored (mt) Available to refine (mt)
UVATIVES 32.60 32.60 54 .90 1.00 65.00	92,760~124,360 16,280 76,500~108,560 925~1,230 25 300 1.34 75 50 375~680
26.60 .20 .20 .25.00	91,000 21,000 70,000 70 300 300 2 50 50

1 Need source

2 Opium yield is based on a factor of 13 kilograms per hectare

3 Storage estimates should not be construed to me by traffickers, but rather individual holdings by construed to mean large stockpiles held growers

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Opium Heroin 1 Estimates have been derived from Socialist Republic of the base, or morphine base.	ISUMP	C C	REFINING ² Heroin (mt) SEIZURES	Gross cultivation (ha) 65,000 Potential Prod. (mt) 630 Eradicated (ha) 4,500 Net cultivation (ha) 62,500 Net production (mt) 535
ved from Soci r available sou d narcotics are	TON 7,2/6 200 200-30 -8	1.64 0.27 2 3.724	10	
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-300,000 list Republic of the form	4,2/6 4,491 4,916 2 4,491 4,916 2 2 5 200-300 200-300 200-300 .8 .8	1.45	25	144,600 131,245 131,000 1,130
nion l			30	08,000 16,280 92,300
	5,000 in 5,000 in all 200 3	20 cm 1 cm 20 cm 1 cm 20		20 92 in 20 in 20 in

cultivation after having their crops destroyed by aerial spraying There are signs that some 1987. farmers have abandoned poppy

ands of the insurgents and ains control of the major growing areas, which are now in the an be expected over the long term. However, until the SRUB 3,235 hectares of poppy in the 1988-89 season, equivalent to adication program. me 180 metric tons of opium. Through aerial eradication and rogress must depend on the energetic pursual of the aerial rmy, significant reduction in the production of opium in Burma e increased activities of the People's Police Force and Burma The SRUB has set a goal for a minimum destruction of eliminates opium production, any

05.96 metric tons of opium. surgent-controlled areas. SRUB estimates are only for areas pproximately 28,330 hectares, and assumed an average yield of nder government control. The SRUB estimated the 1987 crop at re difficult since 60 to 70 RUB reports and a variety of U.S. sources. Accurate estimates 0.8 kilograms per hectare, The following figures are from a combination of official thus yielding a total production of per cent of the cultivation lies in

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MOUNT OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT REQUIRED

tions, and investigative capabilities of the Burmese police and ers, primarily by improving the air transportation, communicamilitary. The aerial eradication program now gives the Burmese a means of reaching otherwise inaccessible poppy plantations. ion efforts and to raise the cost of doing business to the traffick-The United States has assisted the SRUB to sustain eradica-

heroin

La Massachusetts Avenue, N

purchased vehicles for the police in 1985. additional police narcotics task force. some training grants and recently funded equipment for the Federal Republic of Germany. The Germans have provided Federal Republic of Germany. The SRUB has received grant assistance from Australia, The Australian & the U.S., and Khua The Producers

road project included in the Phase III plan. additional donors for a possible expansion of the farm-to-mark tive education, and public information. breeding), medical treatment of addicts, rehabilitation, preve ment, crop substitution, rural development (including livesto approximately \$13,500,000. The program commitment to the five-year program is 95,520,000 kyat, III) which is funded at \$10,539,509 (1986-1991). The Burme is currently operating under its third five-year program (Ph The United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFD) UNFDAC is seekin assists in law enforce

to prepare to fight or, more often, time to escape. information of impending raids; such warnings allow them time protection money' to government officials, thereby receiving actually dislodge them. Many traffickers pay huge sums of warlords control border areas and little is, or can be, done Burma is a major heroin producing center. Several dn

swift and unmolested pas negotiated agreements all for this protection. Most as jade, gems, buffaloes, etc. border trade with Thai merchants in goods efforts to dislodge them. Some warlords are All warfords have sizable 'armies' are paid ne tw and fight any and all in cross gs, such

September of 1988 with

Unconfirmed rumors

allowing his 6,000 to 8,000 armed followers free rein in the drug trade in exchange for his support against communists and a Thailand in a desperate bid for foreign currency. Senior sources in the Thailand Border Patrol Police confirm some accommodaguarantee of safe passage for teak which Rangoon is selling to trade in teak being a consideration. But the same sources also note tions have been reached between Khun Sa and Rangoon, with that the Burmese military's tight finances limit the number of opponents it can tackle simultaneously, so the military have opted to move against the BCP and the strong Karen rebels rather than Khun Sa's drug army. Khun Sa now has working agreetude, a development that bodes ill for the free world and the ments with two governments that allow him considerable latisuppression of drug production.

Government Accounting Office report suggests "... that the U.S. eradication program has had no effect on stopping opium production in Burma." A second GAO report is to be issued in 1989. Senator Daniel P. Moynihan noted in 1988 that a U.S.

THAILAND

Domestically produced opium is consumed largely incountry, mostly by the hilltribes addicts. and outside Thailand. Most Golden Triangle morphine and known to be converted into heroin in laboratories, both within heroin is pro near the T Both opium and marijuana are cultivated in Thailand. Beca om Burmese opium in laboratories in Burma though some heroin is refined in Thailand. lailand's principal role in the international nisticated communications and transporta-Some locally grown opium is

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THE PROBLEM

affecting able to apply the first method, there is a steady and dependable market for the drug. The sellers may at their whim raise the price, physical pain, or by dilute the potency, or even temporarily reduce supply, without either by extraordinary Ine by an overwhelming instance, repeated use produces an addiction characteronly the volume of their trade. users complain way and 5 taking more heroin. Because few addicts are euphoria, although a significant number of willp overcome the all-consuming craving psychological and physiological cravof ower and the grit to withstand severe depression, nausea, or tachycardia. heroin produces a sense of well-

A trafficker could make his customers leap through flaming hoops or slaver like Pavlov's dogs. Degradation is the way of heroin addiction.

service. The international narcotics industry is the largest growth industry in the world with housing, clothes, education, medical care, or any other product or trillion dollars—three times the value of all United States curwould weigh more than the dollars in gold weighs as n all but a half dozen of the rency in circulation and more than the gross national product of imagine the immensity of The inhabitants of the than they spend on nuch as a large man. A trillion dollars annual revenues exceeding half a he major industrialized nations. To such wealth, consider this: a million earth spend more money on illegal entire population of Washington, DC. food ... more than they spend on

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Thailand

The Golden Triangle

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withheld from public view? sanctions" for unauthorized disclosure. Why is this information circulated in numbered copies with the warnings of "crimin Agency and the National Security Agency. These studies ments prepared with the participation of the Central Intelligen based are undoubtedly reasonable, appearing in classified dog publicized. But the statistics on which the above statements what use will this mercotics is a man have never to the local of the later of the l what use will this money eventually be put? What will be Narcotics profits secretly stockpiled in countries company \$3 million per L and khun

tially diminished its international power, and does not today crimes, has rarely attacked the Empire abroad, has never substangovernment, while launching cosmetic 'wars' against drugs and traffickers within their own borders but they effectively ignore fare. Nations suffering from illicit drugs attempt to police the nance by any means from clandestine banks, merchant fleets, and airlines. It seeks to extend its dominame) maintains its own armies, diplomats, intelligence services ground Empire (as James Mills calls it in his book of the same American republic. Aggressive and violent by nature, the Under Empire, as determinedly cohesive as the young states of the teenth-century imperial power, as far-reaching as the Britisl become as ruthlessly acquisitive and exploitative as any nine international aspects of the problem. The United States fails to present a solid front to the ground Empire', though frequently torn by internal strife, neve at all, but an empire. Sovereign, proud, expansionist, this 'Under The international narcotics industry is, in fact, not an industry world at large. It has toda

seriously challenge its growing threat to world stability.

is doomed. We have had our last chance. Time is running out! means of combatting this malady, our world, as we now know it, at a crossroads, and if we do not design some more effectual whole world to suffer unnecessarily because of the greed of producers and distributorsaddiction, and this affliction in turn, leads to crime, causing the its. Millions of people in today's society suffer from the agony of counter-ploy and business continues with ever-increasing proftactic that governments come up with, drug kingpins find a menace continues to grow at an alarming rate. And for every new year in a vain attempt to governments around the world spend billions of tax dollars each can no longer be controlled-Drugs are the greatest scourge of mankind today. And they combat this global plague, but the and there is no end in sight. We are only abolished. Rightly concerned

in exchange for goods and dized the industry by forcibly trading opium from India to China centuries. More than a hundred years ago, the British aggrana rapidly expanding commodity in Mexico, has been around for been produced chiefly in the Middle and Far East but is now also by twelve-year-old children. Heroin, which until recently has synthetic substance, finds its way into schools where it is pushed in both the United States and Europe. 'Crack', a new and cheaper mightier than the sword. Cocaine floods the streets of major cities within through the means of cocaine. And indeed, the syringe is stridently warned the United States that he would destroy it from Lehder Rivas was captured and sentenced to prison, he had Shortly before Colombian cocaine drug kingpin, Carlos cash.

making commodity when it saw it, and amplified the production The CIA, like the British, was able to recognize a money-

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Drugs International

barons. Unfortunately, there is no end in sight. perpetrated by the addicts—and all because of the greed of the narcotic, while increasing segments of society suffer the crime the world's population suffer the agony of addiction because CIA support to the Hmongs in growing and refining the addiction became opium addicts because of the British, huge segments of opium during use vicenary, like the millions of Chinese around the world. And so today, like the British, huge seems of opium during the Vietnam War to fund their covert operations of China

AN OVERVIEW OF POPPY CULTIVATION

finds the northern parts of these three countries a most salubrious temperate climate at least three thousand feet above sea level opium poppy, a fastidious plant that demands sweet soil and a porous limestone bedrock, breaking it down into friable soil. The topographic map. Erosion has gouged caves and craters out of the ally jagged peaks, wind in parallel lines like contours on brush strokes on rice paper. Rugged ridge lines, cut by fantastic and the hills recall Chinese ink paintings rendered in feather Thailand are draped in mile-high clouds and drifting mig In the rainy season, the highlands of f northern Laos, Burma

For larger trees, a faller balances on a thin, notched pole propped twenty feet up the trunk, where he cuts away the top of the tree. begins in March or April, when the growers begin clearing new fields by chopping down saplings and brush with axes and saws. When cut precisely, the falling tree top will take out a number of Poppy farming is a labor-intensive, year-round endeavor that

blanketing the plot with ashes rich in phosphate, calcium, potassium, and other fertilizing nutrients. If the land is left fallow, these minerals will be leached out most common food crop—dryland rice-November (two months after poppies must be planted), another faster growing cover crop must be planted. Most cultivators plant a hearty mountain com that keeps fodder for domestic animals, and matures by August. the soil free of weeds, provides during the rains, but since the -does not mature until

fine with a heavy hoe and smoothed with bamboo brooms. The tiny poppy seeds are then sown by broadcasting. The seeds are a rainbow of color, coming in whites and blues and yellows and blacks, and those not planted are ground for cooking oil. These are the same edible seeds that garnish bagels and kaiser rolls, and of the more than fifty varieties of poppies, only the Papaver somniferum produces them. However, because poppy sap loses its potency before the plant goes to seed, diners who enjoy bread with a meal are spared the embarrassment of nodding off during At the beginning of September, the soil is turned and chopped

the dessert course. Tobacco, beans, and spinach nutrients to the soil and supplementing the villager's diet. In late December the poppies are thinned a second time, and the leaves that fringe the base of the uprooted shoots are eaten as salad greens. The vegetables interplanted with the poppies mature in In November, the seedlings are thinned to six inches apart. are planted among them, adding

January

pink, white or blue, or even mauve—are shaped something like a tulip and sits atop a rigid, reed-straight, pale-green stem the thickness of a pencil. The flower's perfume is unsubtle and, to Poppies bloom in February. Their flowers—bright red or

o dry for a month and is then burned off,

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sixth as potent as morphine. and the alkaloid in the sap will have become codeine, only one be runny and dribble to the ground where it is lost; cut too lake experience and a cultivator's savvy. Cut too soon, and the sap will precisely the correct night on which a Vermont sugar maple or a Malaysian rubber tree. Choosing and crowned with unity profile is tapped in the same manner manner tree. Cho and crowned with tiny petals. To extract the fraction of a gramman time same man. As the plant reaction.

expose the pod, a bluish-green bulb about the size of a golfburger of As the plant reaches full maturity, the petals drop away Drugs International to cut the pods require

night and depositing it in a small copper collecting the resin which has oozed from the slits during the scrapes the surface of the bulb with a flexible rectangular blade, before the sun dries the sap, a gatherer, traditionally a woman, three-quarters of the way around the pod. in the other, incises shallow, parallel longitudinal slits exactly hand and, with a three-bladed knife shaped like a garden trowe In the cool of a late afternoon, the grower cups the bulb in one cup hanging from her Early the next morning,

to help with the harvest until they are tall enough to breathe above sleep of drug overdoses. Consequently, children are not allowed riding on their mothers' backs during harvest have died in their The newly cut pod emits narcotic fumes so potent that babies

toms of dysentery. tastes like licorice, and is the best local treatment for the sympoff hunks as one might do with a chew of tobacco. Raw opium When the harvest is con Some mountain people chew the dark and sticky sap, biting

pium is shaped into one

in the center of the exhausted field as a propitiatory offering to the Each family with a share in the crop places a small brick of opium fifteen days, so that the phi can smoke the gift in tranquility. resident phi (spirit). Hereafter, no kilogram bricks, wrapped in banana leaves, and tied with string one is allowed in the field for

of the flame to judge the morphine content. Depending on the quality, a kilo brings between forty to sixty dollars to the grower. burns a pinch on a piece of foil, watching the color and intensity during the growing season, an opium broker visits the village. He for the pack-trip out of the highlands. Every couple of weeks The bricks of crude opium are stowed in wicker containers

Thailand and Laos before shipment to the West. however, is now being processed directly into heroin in labs in complete its metamorphosis into dozen other places in France and Turkey, the morphine will in Beirut, Rome, Brussels, Amsterdam, Madrid, and Zurich or a opium will be reduced to morphine nuggets. Later, in laboratories Further down the mountain in a crude jungle compound, the heroin. More and more opium,

THE GROWERS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

The majority of inhabitants are the Thai, Shan, and Lao, all of and covered in dense primary jungle, is virtually impenetrable. mountain crests of northern Thailand, and a high plateau in Laos. A large number of ethnic minorities of Sino-Tibetan or Tibetowhom belong to the same Sino-Tibetan ethno-linguistic family. Much of this mountainous region, interrupted by deep valleys ters, including the Shan Hills given to an area covering approximately 225,000 square kilome-"The Golden Triangle" is the name which has long been of northeastern Burma, some

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of mule caravans. accessible only by footpaths barely wide enough for the page emigrants nom a mountain ridges, which are willages perched high up on mountain ridges, which are of common ochig in Yunnan. These semi-nomadic hilltribes line Burman Mongowa, Akha, Lisu, Lahu, and Chinese Meo, Akha, Lisu, Lahu, and Chinese Meo, These semi-nomadic hilltriban, Manager Mese, Mese Semi-nomadic hilltriban, Mese Mese, Mese Semi-nomadic hilltriban, Mese Mese, Mese Semi-nomadic hilltriban, Mese Mese Mese Semi-nomadic hilltriban, Mese Semi-nomadic hilltriban, Mese Mese Semi-nomadic hilltriban, Mese Semi-nomadic Burman Mongoloid type have settled there as well, the

quantities of opium. and then have to plant more poppy to produce even greate lights and watches. The locals buy these products, run up debu salt, sugar, fabric, and light industrial products, such as flash people. The Haws barter; they exchange opium for essentials like of middleman between the Chinese in the towns and the hilltrib Haws, who live on the mountain slopes and fulfill the classic roll selves. The balance is bought by drug traffickers, mainly Chines the opium produced is consumed by the hilltribesmen them land which does a landslide business in weapons). A portion of the land which does a landslide business in weapons. duced arms trafficking in the area, except for neighboring The weapons (although communist control over Indochina has n This enables them to purchase basic necessities and black man them cultivate and sell raw opium as their sole source of incomthe absence of fertilizers, accelerates topsoil erosion. Most, use the ancient slash-and-burn method of cultivation, which populations leave much to be desired. The hilltribes are poor The living conditions of these economically underdevelop

unreliable. One important fact, however, is clear; far from being heroin refineries cannot often be verified as communiques available, announcing the destruction of crops of to evaluate the role of opium in their social lives. The few annua the hilltribe people cultivate the opium poppy, makes it difficul The lack of information from the inaccessible areas when

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Drugs International

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means by which the insurgents can secure a living. at the root of insurgencies, drug trafficking merely provides the

since 1958. Furthermore, the United tial financial, economic, and military addition, action is being taken against clandestine heroin refineryears; to achieve this end, the United States has granted substanconstant pressure on both the Thai and Burmese Governments to ing their efforts to cut drug chains, for which Bangkok, Sinies on the Thai-Burmese frontier, and the authorities are increasintensify their campaigns against drug trafficking for a ten full gapore, and Hong Kong serve as staging posts. Cultivation of the opium poppy in Thailand has been illegal States has been putting aid for this purpose. In

THE HISTORY OF OPIUM

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quently encouraged the export of opium, especially to China. The almost 50 years during which both the cultivation and import of to boost national income. When the British arrived in India, they both India and China around the seventh century by Arab traders. Indian rulers imposed an export tax on the sale of opium in order were keen to discover reliable sources of revenue and consefor the international market. From the Mogul era onward, several Chinese signed a trade agreement which ushered in a period of the end of the second Anglo-Chinese war (1856-58), the defeated balanced the trade deficit between China and the Company. At Canton) having discovered that the sale of opium miraculously Company (which had been granted a trading concession in 'Black Mud' soon dominated China trade, the British East India At that time, harvests were small and India was the main producer Opium has been in Asia for a long time, being introduced to

on a grand scale, imports would have necessarily been arge caravans would be finalland, and Tonkin. The somniferous poppy was introduced by Yunnanese traders and by selling almost 6,500 with a complete opium addicts. Had China not begun to cultivate its own opium anese opium and communicate would have necessarily been arge caravans would leave Yunnan restrictive measures on the opium trade, British merchants he central authority in realisment of 5,500 tons a year to China, which had 15,000 sendent warlords needed to finance their armies, hence, Yunselling almost 6,500 tons a year to China, which had 15,000 sendent warlords needed to finance their armies, hence, Yunselling almost of China not begun to cultivate its own opin ancese opium boosted opium trafficking in Southeast Asia. opium were legal in China. By 1886, when London imposite the opium trade, British merchants the central authority in Peking was in decline and many inde-

an increased demand for Burmese opium and a subsequent in
Demand in the West increased rapidly at the beginning of the

Demand in the West increased rapidly at the beginning of the production was dramatically reduced. Consequently, China saw arrived via Burma. Chinese Government began a campaign to abolish the drug, so into Thailand from Laos, while the Opium trade to be immoral; and, at about the same time, the production. After the war, large numbers of Meo and Yao moved Chinese Government began a commo: War II.) In 1906, the House of Commons in London declared the Japan, encouraging the Meo in Laos and Tonkin to develop their War II.) In 1906, the House of Common. poppy, but production became simisor. was composed of a variety of different groups, including ethniffrom cultivating poppies—largely in order to preserve their own Chinese and a host of hilltribes. (It is unclear exactly when the monopolies. The sale of high quality opium to addicts was was composed of a variety of different areas. no clear border separating Burma and Laos, both of which well in the Triangle region before the 1940s since Burma (then under contiguous with Yunnan Province. The framework and the hilltribes surface of Yunnan was covered in poppies. At that time there was no large-scale production no clear border separating Burma and Laos, both of which poppy cultivation. However, there was no large-scale production then under those provinces' income. By 1875, one-third of the arable land spread to Indochina, bringing with them their expertise in surface of Yunnan was covered in nonnies. At that time the revenue thus procured eventually constituted the main portion Throughout uncountries been subjected to relentless persecution, those provinces income By 1875, one-third of the arabia, southern China, having been subjected to relentless persecution, China were both perfectly suited to poppy cultivation, and inigratory migratory migratory migratory, the Meo and Yao tribes fled revenue thus produced eventually constituted the main port. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Meo and Yao tribes fled The mountainous provinces of Szechuan and Yunnan nto the Golden Limited high-yielding methods of cultivation. and migratory hilltribes using high-yielding methods of cultivation. Akha, Lisu, and Lahu tribes

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promoted poppy cultivation—ar opium in order to boost their treasury. From 1918 on, they openly in China's Guangxi and Tonkin Provinces. begun to be illegally cultivated by the Meo and Nung tribes living the French monopoly in Indochina. At the same time the poppy of the smuggled opium was sold by the Yunnan Government to of the smuggled opium was sold by the v..... Some twentieth century, when diacetyl morphine was recommended. Bayer, the In 1916, the Yunnanese authorities permitted the sale of possible only because by German chemists to treat certain complaints. Bayer, the pharmaceutical company, called this diacetyl morphine "Heroin" and produced it industrially, distributing it in small boxes with a by the Geneva Convention in 1925, when its dangers were "Double U-O Globe". The sale of diacetyl morphine was banned trademark and marketed their own product which they called lion and a globe on the label. Laotian traffickers copied the

from Number 4, which is the fine white powder that appermando strikes, guerrilla actions, and psychological warfare. from Number 4 which is the fine white nowder that intelligence gathering and analysis, espionage, sabotage, com-Number 3 heroin. It was smoked and looked like semi-res divince and engaged in a wide Number 3 heroin. It was smoked and looked like sem; divided into Secret Intelligence (SI) and Special Operations (SO) quantities. China became one of the world's main he the-lines activities in virtually and the drug first appeared in Hong Kong in 100 ner of the Central Intelligence Agency, the wartime OSS was now illegal in Europe, could be legally exported to China in ish SOE and M-10, man introduced to China in the lines activities in virtually every theater of war. The forerunopium derivatives had escalated for export. Morphine and her ish SOE and M-16, had achieved recognized, but nonetheless during the 1920s the production derivatives had escalated for export. Morphine and heart of the clandestine Britannian derivatives had escalated for export. Morphine and heart of the clandestine Britannian derivatives had escalated for export. Morphine and heart of the clandestine Britannian derivatives had escalated for export. Morphine and heart of the clandestine Britannian derivatives had escalated for export. Morphine and heart of the clandestine Britannian derivatives had escalated for export.

AFTER WORLD WAR II

best organized underground in Indeal. The absence (period provided the infiltration and supply of paramilitary teams. Civil a secured a by Ho Chi Minh in 1940 had arrived in fact. The absence (period provided the perfect camouflage for SMM preparations, including the omnipresent Bureau. The power vacuum predicte removing in the process the last vestiges return of the French to their former granted it a paper-independence. This Puppet government under the Vietnamese Emperor Bao Dai al communist-controlled Tonkin, which was soon to be evacuated with War II when the Japanese, occupiers of Indochina, established focus on preparing several covert paramilitary teams for action in West now appear to have had their roots near the end of Wornegotiation talks taking place at Geneva. The SMM began to The drug problems that have become so dominant in Wietminh—was rapidly modified of their colonial powe in Tonkin. colony more difficul hope to the SMM for help in establishing a resistance movement 'independence' made by the French. Fervent Vietnamese anti-communists looked with Saigon soon after the fall of Dienbienphu. The goal of the original An American "Cold War Combat Team" arrived quietly in

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blankets, food, medicine, etc.) for

American Volunteer Group (AVG)

CAT had flown guns, ammunition and relief supplies (tents,

-the famous Flying Tigers.

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minh as much as the Vietminh needed American sponsorship

American Office of Strategic Services (OSS) needed the Viet

disorganized Free French guerrillas. Ho was convinced that the

extensive intelligence network which was far superior to th south. CAT, later known as Air America or simply 'AA', had its

extensive intelligence network which and had created a French contract to airlift Catholic refugees from Tonkin to the

best organized underground in Indochina. By June 1945, the V Air Transport (CAT), the CIA-owned airline, had secured a

Drugs, the U.S., and Khu,
Yrugs International

cyentually ended up transporting thousands of refugees, the PEO was mainly a CIA cover for a wide range of covert Chiang's armies collapsed.

The PEO was mainly a CIA cover for a wide range of covert chiange's armies collapsed.

become its new owner. become its new owner. Agency personnel had often flow The only way to constitute and paramilitary groups." An important CAT planes to battlefields all over China. The CIA saw brough covert political and paramilitary groups." An important with potential of the airline CAT faced bankruptcy potential as a moneymaker as well. CAT was quickly reorga the highlanders strated been organized and later abandoned by the ized as a Delaware corporation to be administered from organized that had been organized and later abandoned by the As a result of backing the losing side in the Chinese civil actions against the Pathet Lao and its North Vietnamese sponas a perfect natural cover—and aspect of the PEO mission included cultivating a friendship with er as well. CAT was quickly reone the highlanders straddling the Lao-North Vietnamese border, the Agency personnel had often flow. The only way to combat communism in places like Laos was

ized as a Delaware corporation to be administered from officerench.

established in Washington D.C. Headquarters were based In order to promote ethnic representation to a CIA-backed In order to promote ethnic representation. PEO operatives sought out the who Taipei where the CIA proprietary had found shelter with the syl Laotian political organization, PEO operatives sought out the pathetic government in exile of Chiana Vai that Canada Laotian political organization, PEO operatives sought out the pathetic government in Laos—who functioned as a legitimate sirling fluing. It is a fluing the flui out Asia, with Tokyo, Bangkok, and Hong Kong among its de chief Vang Pao, who had been in charge of a French commando tinations. The airline processor and the chief Vang Pao, who had been in charge of a French commando tinations. out Asia, with Tokyo Rangbob and Harry and Harry and Harry and the cultivation of poppies. Meo boom proffered by the Korean War, and by 1954 CAT was offer of direct support for his men if they would undertake most profitable carrier in the Ear Ear. B. 1954 CAT was offer of direct support for his men if they would undertake most profitable carrier in the Far East. But CAT's profit-making other of direct support communist supply lines. He had not operations conveniently served to mask its real function as the forgotten the harsh recriminations the Meo had suffered from the CLA's private aerial paramilitary form. The distribution is the forgotten the harsh recriminations the Meo had suffered from the paramilitary ventures. The CIA's cimulation backing worldwid French, but, most of all, he remembered how the French had paramilitary ventures. The CIA's involvement in Southeast As abandoned and disarmed the Meo after Dienbienphu. To a proud over the next quarter-century manner. In Southeast As abandoned and disarmed the Meo after Dienbienphu. To a proud Intermountain Air and CIA's private aerial paramilitary force. Its demonstrated capable communists as a result of their recent involvement with the ity suited the CIA's ever-expanding the French had keep it busy. Southern Air Transport) had plenty tchieftain asked for CIA assurances that his people would not be

large military advisory mission in Laos, the United States stealth Chinese word for 'barbarian'. They called themselves Hmong: ily established a Program Evaluation Office (DEC). instrument of U.S. clandestip was to function for the duration of the Vietnam w. 1958 that "free men". Both terms were misnomers. They had never been was to function for the duration of the Vietnam War as the chief barbarians and, in the present century at least, they have but rarely instrument of U.S. clandestip al and min. Prevented by the Geneva Agreements from maintaining abandoned as they had occur once "Meo", a bastardization of the rge military advisory mission in Laos, the Unit. al and military activities, been free men. abandoned as they had been once before.

Drugs, the U.S., and Khun Drugs International

of 14,000 Khamba guerrillas, operated from inside China in the mandate of the Hmong Secret Army was to fight Commuother stubborn groups that were still resisting Mao's brand mous state, a homeland. brutally suppressed by Mao's communists. The CIA kept thetrail, and in Cambodia. In return, the Hmong received the CIA's homeland of Tibet, one of the last areas of mainland China to nists—in Laos, but also in North Vietnam along the Ho Chi Minh corner the local onium markets true second country too busy tryingments, ferried to the highlands by 'private' contract airlines corner the local opium markets. The second secret army, madefinanced and controlled by the CIA, had little to do with 'relief' northern Burma, Thailand, and Laos; they made periodic formally but no one ever did question their actions. The arms shiponce proud Kuomintang Army which had been scattered he would have described their duties as "relief work." northern Burma. Thailand, and Laos: they made period: ask, they would have described their actions. The arms s the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War of the Chinese Civil War operated near the Meo homeland had been solved in the Chinese Civil War operated near mercenary armies in the region. Two other groups spawned The earliest battalions of group consisted of some 12,000 veterans of Chiang Kai-shelhemselves "White Star Civic The Meo guerrillas were only one of the Agency's some DEA). Money rolled in, and " in an attempt to encourasolemn promise of support in the Company' prospered. the escablishment of an autono-"Were anyone to

would not, cooperate in covert operations without such aid, States. would not cooperate in course tribal chieftains either could not, as thirteen—would die fighting communism for the United helping with local trade problems, belonomic assistance. 'Economic aid' often took the form armed, and equipped. In the following fifteen years, nearly four Meo: all depended on AA for food, supplies, ammunition, ainside page. But nine thousand Hmong had already been trained, Men all demanded and a few short paragraphs below the fold on an The glue that held the CIA's far-flung mercenary empisecond Indochina War, it was such as bringing a tribetimes as many Hmongs—men, women, and boys, many as young As early as 1961, whenever U.S. newspapers mentioned the considered insignificant and

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food, opium and agents of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency carried both killers and doctors, wounded and dead, guns and poppies for transplanting to help defray its operating costs and u on the stuff. Air America sometimes also transported opium the Pathet Lao advanced on the seat of the coalition government, poppies for transplanting to believe the Communists operative who envisioned thousands of Chinese peasants hooke Pao's forces managed to hang on until the spring of 1975, when on the stuff. Air America cometimes also also be as an analysis of the stuff of the spring of 1975, when keep its mercenary troops happy. The AA played no favorites: if Agency operatives began buying the Meo's opium harvests. The line is the end there was neither homeland nor victory. The opium was often loaded on Air Amoria. The contract of Communist China—a crackpot scheme thought up by a creative who envisioned thousands of their one-time Hmong allies. Vang the tens of thousands of Hmong civilians fleeing from the Along the way, in their first stage of 'liberation', the Communists northern highlands south toward Vientiane. began to fire on the "indigenous enemies of the people's state".

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almost 6,000 men in the Golden Triangle, mostly in Thai territory aimed at eliminating the KMT. This action resulted in anothe KMT contingent being sent to Taiwan, but there still remained and Communist Chinese troops launched a combined attack recruiting local tribesmen for reinforcements. In 1961, Burmes several thousand nationalist soldiers remained in the Shan State evacuation of General Li Mi's men to Taiwan. Ultimatel Burmese Army. A UN resolution was passed, providing for the but were subsequently driven back beyond the Salween by the weapons. The KMT captured several towns close to Rangoo Organization (KNDO), who hoped thereby to obtain model Nationalist formed an alliance with the Karen National Defen territory between Salween and the Chinese border. The Chine was powerless to prevent the KMT troops from occupying military aid from the United States' Central Intelligence Agen population, monopolizing the opium trade in the Shan States. I Despite its military failure, the KMT dominated the low and from Taiwan in order to prepare for an invasion of Chi States. Later, the vanquished army reassembled and received Burmese Army, weakened led by General Li Mi, and forced the defeated troops into the Sh opened the province to communist troops in December 1949,1 communists defeated the 93rd Division of the KMT 8th Am resistance. But Chiang was being defeated by Mao Tse-Tung's army in 1949, the national government had hoped to During the following years, the remaining KMT contingen As Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuomintang (KMT) troops w betrayed by warlord Lu Han, whol by its struggles with the insurgen make Yunnan Province a bastion

the world. In the 1960s, the KMT began to establish several opium to Thailand. Certain influential Thai officials are thought to have ensured that Bangkok became an exporter to the rest of selling raw opium, and organized mule caravans to transport expanded poppy cultivation, collected taxes from the tribes refineries in the Triangle area which produced base morphine and Tuan Shee Wen, had its headquarters at Mae Salong in Chiang factions. The 5th Army of 1,800 men, commanded by General heroin. Domestic rivalries saw the KMT troops divide into two Rai Province, while the 3rd Army, led by General Lee Wen Huan, was based at Tam Ngop in Fang District with 1,400 men.

nearly 99 percent purity. Until then, Number 3 heroin, with a latter substance was unsuitable for injection, but was cheap and three to six percent purity, was the best they had achieved. This Chinese experts, were able to start producing Number 4 heroin of opium addicts. When smokable. Number 3 etnam, where the spread of heroin addiction reached momentous The first users of Number 4 heroin were the American GIs in Viof American troops proportions by the beginning of the 1970s. The rapid withdrawal forcing traffickers to seek new export markets and dramatically 1958, the Thai addicts were forced to switch to other narcotics. decreasing the price of raw opium. By the late 1960s, the refineries, aided by Hong Kong in 1975, drastically dislocated demand, Number 3 was prohibited in Thailand in heroin was consumed mainly by Thai

PRODUCERS BECOME CONSUMERS

in many parts of the world wherever climate and geography are Opium poppies, cannabis plants, and coca bushes are grown

ing countries as well Producing and transit countries invariably become drug consum THE IN THE PROPERTY OF THE REAL PROPERTY OF THE PERSON. CONTRACTOR DECIMENTS CONTRACTOR Table connection among all three drugs is that production for for the outlination of allicit crops; elsewhere, the production, favorable. In some regions, cultural traditions provide in Certin-tuser chain can succeed in defeating this menace. and the incidence of The second of the second analysis overy link in and said said and big built abuse—is direct and inevitally E. processing, and trafficking ics are often faitering And

serious problem in Burma, Hong Kong, Macao, Malaysia, Sin-1982, estimated 24,000 abusers in 1985. Heroin abuse remains a Delhi. Sri Lanka, where heroin had larly in major transshipment areas such as Bombay and New cates that it has spread rapidly among urban populations, particuprior to 1981, recent information from treatment facilities indiheroin abusers in 1985. While India had no record of heroin abuse reporting a heroin problem for the first time, estimated 10,00 abuse has now reached epidemic countries, including several not previously affected. Bangladesh The Asian drug abuse problem continues to grow. Heroir proportions in a number of

numbers of opium abusers. Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, are usually older than heroin abusers. Burma, Bangladesh, India, or eating opium is traditional in certain regions. Opium abusers The products of the opium poppy are sold in diverse forms, Cultivation of the opium poppy is widespread, and smoking Thailand, and Sri Lanka all reported significant

brown and may be smoked, it to produce a strong-smell store the uninpe seed pod, so beroin. The age-old method the three most commonly a rape the milky secretion, and air-dry unnido men siu, i poppy

acetyl chiloride) and passed the morphine base is further morphine base by using hy acid. In Southeast Asia, ci process requiring chemicals such as acetone, alcohol, and tartaric purple (Number 3) heroin, that used in Europe and Asia, is usually brown, although recently Mexican heroin, which is produced by a different process than heroin, the injectable drug used in the United States and Europe also be precipitated, dried, and crushed to form white Number 4 a potent "black tar" form h In some areas of the wor as surfaced in the United States heroin is used IS smoked. Crude heroin is refined into impure to manufacture

the industrial poppy-straw process and extract alkaloids from the mature dried plant in either liquid, solid, or powder form. Most in the form of a fine brownish powder with a distinct odor. poppy-straw concentrate available commercially for legal use is A modern, industrial method of processing the poppy is to use

Thailand, and Mexico) also have a significant refining capacity: sometimes neighboring countries serve as processing centers. opium for refining because the much greater bulk would dangerimported morphine and h For example, Malaysian traffickers produce illicit heroin from severeously increase the risks o Some major producing countries (such as Pakistan, Burma, -death. leroin base. They do not import raw smuggling, for which the penalty is

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OPIUM PRODUCTION, 1984-1987 (Cultivation in hectares)

'Source: Inte	Afghanistan Burma Guatemala Laos² Lebanon Mexico Pakistan Thailand Egypt³	
U.S. Department of State	65,000 200 125 5,200 6,933 1.4	1984
cs Control Strate	9,950 70,000 44,600 225 275 -16,000-47,000 250 6,000 2,770 7,805 8,780 4,750 2.5	1985
gy Report 198	9,950 44,600 47,000 6,000 7,805 4,750 2.5	1986
7 1088	18,50 108,08 11,27 1,36 2.	THE REAL PROPERTY.

or state. HANG THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY 4 1701, 1988.

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³ Metric tons ² Estimated annual cultivation

producing and drug-abusing countries has blurred, disappearing During the past decade, thought that producing countries realized some positive benefits completely in some places. Although many observers once from the production of opiates, it is now clear that producers inevitably become major victims. heroin addicts in 1980, now estimates it has 660,000. Thailand, a major transit and refining point for Golden Triangle opiates, has large population of opiate and heroin addicts. Malaysia's recent chosed with a dramatic increase in domestic drug consumption. country has cointhe distinction between the drug-Pakistan, with no reported anct importer to service its or and the second secon

tion, production, and trafficking occur, abuse by the local population invariably ensues. increases in drug abuse and addiction. Wherever illicit cultiva-Dozens of other producing or trafficking countries report notable

INTERNATIONAL TRAFFICKERS

grave, ranking high among the pressing problems of the United States—indeed the world—as global cultivation of opium, cocoa, and cannabis continues to expand. The supply of products The international drug abuse situation today is extremely made from these crops far exceeds the demand, but demand is escalating, particularly in the producing and trafficking countries—and continues to do so every year. These very countries, once unaffected and untouched by the effects of illicit drugs, now have their own growing populations of drug abusers. Like are exploring ways to fight back, realizing that illicit drugs pose Western Europe and the United States, these 'dealer' countries to domestic order and national security a threat not only to the physi ical health of their citizens, but also

is lucrative, needs little advertising, and keeps the customer coming back for more. The criminal organizations running these businesses are skillful and ruthless, and they viciously resist all often counter by planting even larger areas of crops, moving their ernment mounts an intensive eradication campaign, traffickers governmental efforts to curtail their activities. Whenever a govcampaigns, attempting to convince the populace that the governfields to more remote areas, ment is harming its citizens Drug production and trafficking are big business: the product by cradicating a cash crop. When or by mounting disinformation

processing laboratories are destroyed, the 1 build new ones or design mobile labs that can be moved quick violence, bribing or killing those officials whose activities threat Law enforcement efforts are countered with corruption profits. Drug networks stretch from huts in remote jungles ment is able to significantly disrupt their activities, they simple boundaries have no meaning to drug traffickers; if one goven luxurious penthouses in the world's major traffickers will so cities. Internation

past several years, the international community has come to a awareness that illegal drugs are a global problem, and as such require a coordinated response. Drug control programs must be carried out simultaneously in all the major producing countries prevent growers and, even more, dealers from evading crop control efforts. Supply-reduction programs in the producing countries must be matched by aggressive demand. As long as there is a high demand for illicit drugs and s long as there is money to pay for drugs, the traffickers will fin ways to meet that demand. The situation, although very serious, is programs to reduc not hopeless. In the

ment, and rehabilitation must go hand-in-hand. Only an effor that is cooperative, comprehensive, vigorously enforced, and truly international can successfully address the global drug threat. Crop control, interdiction, law enforcement, education, treat

THE PRODUCERS

BURMA

the largest producer of illicit opium portion of the crop is produced in areas dominated by drug trafficking groups—most of them insurgents, but some notment, the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma (SRUB). who remain outside the effective control of the central govern-Inaccessibility has hampered the eradication efforts and makes accurate estimates of production Burma, at the heart of the Golden Triangle, continues to be government's ambitious in the world. The major

move their operations to another country.

difficult. At the end of the 1950s, all of Burma's borders were affected

by the eruption of tribal insurrections, most particularly in the Kachin and Shan States, those states having retained a certain autonomy during the period of British rule. The Shan States were still governed by sawbwas (feudal princes), and the Kachin States by duwas (traditional chiefs). Under their administrations, the cultivation of opium was restricted. This is significant, since the main zones of poppy cultivation are situated within the Shan States, which constitutes the major part of the Golden Triangle, and in the Kachin State. In 1982, these areas produced 263,000 viss of opium (438 tons) and recent estimates put output at 534

tons for 1984 and 424 tons for 1985. Hague in 1912, Burma in 1912 implemented Article 295 of the convention with new legislation restricting the sale of opium. The Shan States, at that time administratively autonomous, were much affected by the new laws as the Shan State Opium Order of · A participant in the International Opium Convention at The

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THE CAN AND THE DREED STORY

climate for large scale heroin production. duction and systematic government sources of supply to Southeast Asia, where surplus opium prothe Corsican syndicates—and the American Mafia—shifted their rial. But, unwilling to abandon their lucrative narcotics racket heroin laboratories of their most important source of raw male poppies on the Anatolian plateau in order to deprive Marseille's nounced that it would begin phasing out cultivation of opium the early 1960s the Italian government launched a crackdowng industry, and shortly thereafter it went into a sudden decline. The mid-1966s marked the the Turkish government a peak of the Engopean kens corruption created an ideal

number of addicts skyrocketed. tured by a seemingly limitless flow of heroin, America's total quantities of heroin started flooding into the United States. Nurwhere Burma, Thailand, and Laos converge, and unprecedented late 1969 new heroin laboratories sprang up in the tri-border area ments known to be engaged in the international drug traffic. In Department provided unconditional support for corrupt governsale to, among others, American GIs in South Vietnam. The State mercenary army whose commander world's opium supply, and in Laos army in Burma, a group which still controls as much as half of the creating these favorable conditions. CIA had backed the formation of a Nationalist Chinese guerilla And once again American foreign policy played a role in During the early 1950s the manufactured heroin for the CIA created a Meo

MARCA A.

began negotiating a diplomatic understanding with the governgoing to score an overwhelming electoral victory, the French Convinced that Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Viet Minh were into the southern half of Vietnam for two years, until Vietnam referendum determined the nation's political future. July 1954 called for the French Expeditionary Corps to withdraw motectits substantial political and economic interests in southern glorces gradually over a two- or three-year period in order to Well of Fields Colonial Vietnam. The armistice concluded at Geneva, Switzerland, in The to an end, the French government had planned to withdraw Me the french occurrence when the First Indochina was The bloody Saigon street fighting of April-May 1955 marked beginning of direct an all-

ment in Hanoi.

several weeks after the signing of the Geneva Accords, New York's influential Catholic prelate, Cardinal Spellman, warned flexible. Speaking before But America's moralistic cold warriors were not quite the American Legion Convention

that:

must now learn the awful facts of slavery from their eager Asia! Taps for the newly betrayed millions of Indochinese who at all, it means...taps for the "If Geneva and what was agreed upon there means anything buried hopes of freedom in Southeast

Communist masters!" rulers' godless goons," the create a new nation where none had existed before. Looking back on America's post-Geneva policies from the vantage point of the mid 1960s, the Pentagon I Rather than surrendering southern Vietnam to the "Red ly the creation of the United States." Papers concluded that South Vietnam" Eisenhower administration decided to

DIMBOI III DOO TO AND AND Khung The Role of the C.I.A.

pendence will burst forth for all to see," believed that once the French Army Jeaves, Victnamese inde meddling Americans who, in their this difficult transition period one French official denounced "In French officials retorted that the Americans were naive, Dufing French as hopelessly "colonialist" in their attitudes, and the as advisers to the Vietnamese army. The Americans criticized the than 5,000 men, and American officers had taken over their had taken ove mighty French Expeditionary Corps had been reduced to be French stepped up their troop withdrawal, By April 1956the May Apr military aid cutbacks and prodded by the Diem regime, in tracen withdrawal, By April 1956 in., in The French had little enthusiasm for this emerging national by American by American for the semental series of the french had to go. Pressured by American for this emerging national for the french had little enthusiasm for this emerging national for the french had little enthusiasm for this emerging national for the french had little enthusiasm for this emerging national for the french had little enthusiasm for this emerging national for the french had little enthusiasm for the first enthusi incorrigible guilelessness

ies that the French MACG (the "Red Berets") had recruited ten Berets") were assigned to train the very same hilltribe mercenarmost Vietnamese, only instead of Senegalese and Moroccan colonial levies, the U.S. Army was assisted by Thai and South Korean troops. The CIA and the U.S. special forces (the "Green U.S. Army looked just like the French Saigon politicos that had confounded the French in their day. The effectually unable, to manipulate the colonial war. The U.S. Embassy was itself fighting a war that was almost a armored personnel carrier. And by 1965 the United States found a coup that toppled Diem and left him murdered in the back of an Only seven years later, the U.S. Embassy and the CIA engineered Given the But America's fall from innocence was not long in coming carbon copy of France's Expeditionary Corps to wearisomely trying, but

American war machines, it is hardly surprising that the broad striking similarities between the French and

> other way when presented with evidence that members of the of its unqualified support of the Thieu Ky regime, looked the involvement in Saigon's opium trade, the U.S. Embassy, as part regime were involved in the had found it politically expedient to overlook the Binh Xuyen's and CIA syndicates. And just as the French high commissioner distribution and arranged for export to Europe through Corsican ported narcotics to Saigon, of Laos to transit points such as Long Tieng. There, government except CIA aircraft, opium continued to flow out of the villages Victnamese political leaders were involved in the domestic forces, this time Vietnamesc was no ground or air transport have the Meo, one must buy their opium." At a time when there "became aware of the truth of Colonial Trinquier's axiom, "To Wention. As the CIA became involved in Laos in the early 1960s plint Indochina War of 1946-1954.) recinerged after U.S. interopium traffic in order to finance their covert operations during the pronch intelligence and paramilitary agencies took over the ment initiated a program to outlines of "operation X" (Although the French colonial governwhere parties associated with the GI heroin traffic. and Lao instead of French, transto and from the mountains of Laos

when I' cates out of the opium business in 1965, the CIA's airline, Air forced the small charter airlines owned by the Corsican syndiupheavals in the narcotics America, began flying Meo opium out of the hills to Long Tieng among the Lao clite, coupled into China from Laos reaped an unexpected dividend in 1962 and Vientiane. CIA cross-border intelligence missions launched In Laos, CIA clandestine bel leader who had organized the forays for the with the escalating war in Vietnam, intervention produced changes and traffic. When political infighting

receiving CIA support, either directly or indirectly. trade involves a Shan redel army under Khun Sa, who is still most important chapters in the history of the Shan States' opium these Shan groups still have any relation with the CIA, one of the percentage of the narcotics traffic out of Burma. Although few of Burma and Shan rebel armies who even now control a large heroin factories near Tachilek were operated by rebel units from army itself, to be entirely financed by the U.S. government. The Laotian Army—the only army in the world, except for the U.S. Jane Rattikone, former commander in chief of the Royal moore near Ban Huay Sai reportedly belonged to General was per the CIA in northwestern Laos. One of the heroin labothe area of Yao Major Chao La, commander of Yao mercenary was protected by Major Chao La, commander of Yao mercenary the area for a number of years, the heroin laboratory at Na Kueng

Tieng, headquarters for CIA sponsored operations in northern CIA's 'secret army', had been operating a heroin factory at Long Narcotics had reports that General Vang Pao, commander of the tion of General Ouane Rattikone. And finally, the U.S. Bureau of heroin laboratory that operated near Vientiane under the protec-Other sources have revealed the existence of an important

CIA elements of Nationalist Chinese Paramilitary units training Meo guerrillas on the Plain of Jars. In 1960 and 1961 the 1959 to supervise eight Green Beret teams who were then Lt. Col. Lucien Conein, Agency personnel were sent to Laos in lands of South Vietnam. According to one retired CIA operative, Laotian mountains, and then southward into the Central Highfrom the Shan hills of north-eastern Burma, through the rugged Special Operations division, potential infiltration routes stretched In the fertile minds of the geopolitical strategists in the CIA's ryos.

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The importance of these CIA clients in the subsequen simply increased their imports of Burmese opium through which were the major suppliers for the GI users in Vietnam refugees. In response, flourishing Laotian heroin laboratories by forcing the majority of the Meo opium farmers to become Force bombing had further disrupted opium production in Language opium pro normal marketplace in Bangkok. By the late 1960s U.S. increasingly significant quantities of Burmese opium from increasingly significant quantities opium from increasing significant quantiti and the Shans opened up a new trading pattern that diversity and the Shans opened up a new trading pattern that diversity and the Shans opened up a new trading pattern that diversity and the Shans opened up a new trading pattern that diversity and the Shans opened up a new trading pattern that diversity and the Shans opened up a new trading pattern that diversity and the Shans opened up a new trading pattern that diversity and the shant of the Phoumi Mosavan. The business alliance between General phouni Mosavan. The business alliance between General phounisment in a new trading pattern that the property of the prop gency tegan manese opium to another CIA protégé, Laotian General de la selling Burmese opium to another CIA protégé, Laotian de la selling Burmese opium to another CIA protégé, Laotian de la selling Burmese opium to another CIA protégé, Laotian de la selling Burmese opium to another CIA protégé, Laotian de la selling Burmese opium to another CIA protégé, Laotian de la selling Burmese opium to another CIA protégé, Laotian de la selling Burmese opium to another CIA protégée, Laotian de la selling Burmese opium to another cia agency began financing the Shan nationalist cause; he did

Ban Houei Sai and Nam Keung in Laos; and Mae Salong in most important are located in the areas around Tachilek, Burma, percent pure No. 4 heroin. Of these seven heroin refineries, "The and reported that seven were capable of producing 90 to 99 in the tri-border area where Burma, Thailand, and Laos converge Times. The CIA analysis identified twenty-one opium refinerion report on the Southeast Asian opium traffic to the New York inadvertently, by the Agency itself when it leaked a classifical growth of the Golden Triangle's heroin trade was revealed

since 1950. According to a former CIA operative who worked in volved in CIA intelligence and counterinsurgency operations tionalist Chinese Fifth Army, which had been continuously inthe Golden Triangle. Mae Salong was headquarters of the Nagroups closely identified with American military operations in refineries were located in areas totally controlled by paramilitary Although the CIA did not see fit to mention it, many of those

Aplained his views: "As long as there is opium in Burma, applained his views! "As long as there is opium in Burma, and a sum of the games, should be done to obstruct the opium traffic. Young and sopration from the perspective of a hilltribe farmer. He felt of the hill tribes, he viewed the hill tribes, he viewed the Drugs, the U.S., and Khun So the CI.A.

Itrate into Chiparatandi

any of Ouane Rattikone's officers from using U.S. supplied ing heroin factories along the Mekong River, not once stopping was indifferent toward the opium traffic and ignored the prospersevered head—when accompanied by a Pathet Lao army cap. He his soldiers 500 kip (one dollar) for an ear and 5,000 kip for a threatened to reach his goals, as a mercurial leader who rewarded drinker and as an authoritarian commander who bribed and work with Yao tribesmen. The Yao remember "Mr. Tony" as a supervise Secret Army operations in the tri-border area and to several years later he was transferred to northwestern Laos to in 1963 he was sent to Laos as chief advisor to General Vang Pao. mercenaries along the Cambodian border in South Vietnam, and poe's first assignment in Indochina was with anti-Sihanouk Asia, playing an important role in the CIA's Tibetan operations. eputation as one of its crack clandestine warfare operatives in Operations division sometime after the war and quickly earned a pacific during World War II, Poe joined the CIA's Special Anthony Poe was indifferent to the problem. A marine in the "il market it."

Peace Corps. He was assigned to the Plain of Jars, where the CIA tional Voluntary Services (IVS), a Bible Belt counterpart of the came to Laos in 1960 as an agricultural volunteer for Internaoriginally a farmer from Steuben County, Indiana. Buell first The most curious of this triumvirate is Edgar "Pop" Buell, facilities to administer the drug traffic.

was building up its secret Meo army, and became involved in the

rightly regarded him as its "tribal expert," Because of his deep mountain minorities than any other American in Laos; the CIA spoke five of the local languages and probably knew more about had been a missionary to the hill tribes. A gifted linguist, Young ever, was bom in the Burmese Shan States, where his grandfather

William Young, perhaps one of the most effective agents unconscious complicity in the Laotian opium traffic. way illustrates a different aspect of America's conscious and Buell, Anthony Poe, and William Young. And each in his own their personal imprint on the conduct of the secret war: Edgar Three men, perhaps more than any of the others, have left

THE OPERATIVES

readily understood through the men who fought it. spewed out jargonized policies, the secret war in Laos is most etnam is best analyzed in terms of the faceless bureaucracies that personal power. If the nature of the conventional war in South Vi. decade or more, and had been given an enormous amount of personnel in Laos tended to serve long tours of duty, some for a needed only a handful of Americans. American paramilitary a conventional war in South Vietnam, the mountain war had

While the U.S. military required half a million troops to fight Yunnan Province to monitor road traffic and tap telephones, sending trained Yao and Lahu tribesmen into the heart of China's and sabouage pure operative based in northwestem Laos began And sabotage patrols along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, Finally, in and sabotage patrols along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, Finally, in ased in norment Than South Vietnam's Central areas; they also sent Green Berets into South Vietnam's Central and areas; they also sent Green Berets into South Vietnam's Central and a seas; they also sent Green Berets into South Vietnam's Central and a seas; they also sent Green Berets into South Vietnam's Central and a seas; they also sent Green Berets into South Vietnam's Central and a seas; they also sent Green Berets into South Vietnam's Central and a seas; they also sent Green Berets into South Vietnam's Central and a seas; they also sent Green Berets into South Vietnam's Central and a seas; they also sent Green Berets into South Vietnam's Central and a seas and a seas based in northern Thailand to influste into China-Buma border or South Vietnam's Control of the Control of the

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To branch Li Mi's troops who had crossed into Laos instead of General Li Mi's Eighth Army arrived in Burma. Five thousand of bine, Vinnety-third Division, Twenty-sixth Army, and Ozel 10 gians on lane, etcl sin late 1949, and in January of 1950 Ming's troops out of the cities. Wationalist Chinese stragglers

In June, the Burmese army commander for Kengtung State deoccupying territory between the city of Kengtung and Tachilek. hundred of the displaced troops had crossed the border and were military effectiveness, Buell utilized his agricultural skills with the KMT. By March 1950 some fifteen the troops from the row it grow it gro

until the Burmese troops would become available for the final to Mong Hsat. But, at the time, it seemed only a matter of months tingent was inadequate to pursue the KMT through the mountains central Burna battling four major redellions, its Kengtung con-Because the Burmese army had been weakened by three years in miles west of Tachilek and fifteen miles from the Thai border. interned, but the remainder retreated to Mong Hsat, about forty hundred of Li Mi's troops fled into Laos where they were Kengtung and captured Tachilek in a matter of weeks. Two ately. When Li Mi refused, the Burmese launched an attack from manded that the KMT either surrender or leave Burma immedi-

Aden collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang regime. east Asia since taking office in 1945, was shocked into action by Truman administration, ambivalent toward the conflict in Southof the KMT, drastically altering the balance of power. The At this point the CIA entered the list of combatants on the side assault on the weakened KMT forces.

December 1949, Lu Han armed the populace, who then drove When the People's Liberation Army entered Yunnan in in monopolizing and expanding the Shan States' opium trade. the KMT army was to fail in its military objectives, it did succeed Shan States for a projected invasion of southern China. Although the remnants of the defeated Kuomintang army in the Burmese Asia. In 1950 the Desense Department prossered military aid to to stem "the southward flow of communism" into Southeast ernment in 1949 convinced the Truman administration that it had collapse of the Nationalist Chinese or Kuomintang (KMT) govlargest opium-growing center in the world. The precipitous poppy-growing Shan States from a relatively backwater into the campaign, so some CIA 'actives' in Burma helped transform the had enabled the opium trade to survive a government repression Just as the work of French clandestine services in Indochina THE EMERGENCE OF THE KMT

you're gonna grow it, grow it good," Buell told the Meo." improve Meo techniques for planting and cultivating opium," [Free final continuation opium," [Free final continuation opium, opi tions were clearly an integral part of the CIA program, In his operation of the Meo economy and to increase the trib.

The Burmese army was, hower military effectiveness Buell with the Medical Medic chous hore the Meo economy and to increase the tribest for was humanitarian aid for Meo refugees. Nevertheless, his operations were clearly an integral part of the CIA program, his operation to bolster the Meo economy and to it program, his operation in the Gulf of Thailand, from where they were efforts to bolster the Meo economy and to it program, his operation in the Gulf of Thailand, from where they were efforts to bolster the Meo economy and to it program, his operation in the Gulf of Thailand, from where they were the Meo economy and to it is program, his operation in the Gulf of Thailand, from where they were the Meo economy and to it is program, his operation in the Gulf of Thailand in June 1953. Buell feigned being the innocent country boy, claiming his were clearly an integral part of the CLA. Mevertheless, his one were clearly an integral part of the CLA. neat, and other necessities the CIA had promised to deliver the innocent country boy, claiming the graph of the country boy claiming the country boy claim between the country by the country between the country between the country between the country between the country by the country between the country between the country by the country between the country by the count nan supply corps, dispatching Air America planes to drop for man supply corps, dispatching Air America planes to drop for least of the corps of the the Meo villages ringing the Plain of Jars, Buell became a planes to declare a planes a planes to declare a planes a plan Agney's senvines in Continumism, As CIA influence spread his or claring the Plain of Jars, Buell became thought Agency's activities largely through circumstance and his on the influence spread his on the community of the circumstance and his on the circumstance and his on the circumstance and his on the circumstance and his one cir tough chroumstance, and kenner to the CLA.

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whelmed and driven back into Burma. -19vo ylasing Yang Yang Yunnan; they too were quickly overthe General dispatched his two thousand-man contingent at Surma was not told; top ranking officials in the State Department deputy direction for increasing officials in the State Department deputy direction for increasing officials in the State Department of the source Pencagon Papers because it was one of the most heavily of the most heavily classified.

Burma was not told; top ranking officials:

Burma was not told; top ranking officials:

Burma sitet less the pench of their CIA advisors were killed the counteralists of their CIA advisors were killed the counteral of their cial o Pentagon Papers because it was one of the most heavily th China. Accompanied by CIA advisors and supplied by Toplon Amy based at Mong Mao crossed the border 2,000 soldiers of the Yunnan Province Anti-Communist In April 1951, the attempted reconquest of Yunnan began

aircrass anillery. With these lavish supplies, the KMT presscan M-1s, .50 caliber machine guns, bazookas, mortars, and antigence observed that the KMT began sporting brand-new Ameriquantities of U.S. arms to Mong Hsat. Burmese Military Intellinamed Sea Supply Corporation degan forwarding enormous from Taiwan. A mysterious Bangkok-based American company 47s began a regular shuttle service with two flights a week direct Mong Hsat. Burmese intelligence reported that the unmarked Cwhich slew seven hundred regular KMT soldiers from Taiwan to a CAT (Civil Air Transport, later known as Air America) airlift, vacation and returned three months later, to be soon followed by Taiwan or Bangkok. In November, Li Mi slew to Taiwan for a mori yuse two- and four-engine aircraft flying in directly from World War II landing strip at Mong Hsat so that it could handle redoubled its efforts. Late in 1951, the KMT reopened the old Rather than abandoning this doomed adventure, the CIA

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The first of direct CIA aid to the KMT appeared in the Acres with court in the JCS memo of any planted of such "Special covert operations" planted of such "special covert operations" planted of such "special covert operations" planted of such "special covert operations of such as a such as apieniciae a prezintation in Southeast Asia a in Southeast Asia a interfere with Communist activities in Southeast Asia a interfere with Communist activities in Southeast Asia a interference with Communist activities in Southeast Asia a interference and a sectivities in Southeast Asia a interference and a sectivities in Southeast Asia a interference and a sectivities in Southeast Asia a section and a and Chief of State (2 Countries in Southeast Asian Southeast Asian Sales (2 Countries in Southeast Asian (2 Countries in South Adher Communiar Property of Defending of Defending of Defending Advised the Secretary of Defending Advised the Secretarions of Defending Advised the Secretarion of Space and Secretarion of Space and Spa further Communist expansion in Asia," and in April 1950, and in April Government agencies scrambled to devise policies of the line of th

headman's younger sister, Olive Yang, more arms were dropped hundred troops from Kokang State under the command of the seen making air drops in the area, After Li Mi recruited three camp was opened at Mong Yang; soon unmarked C-47s were Ohina border, As more sitaggilers were rounded up, a new base in the Wa States, where they established a base camp near the Maled the bulk of this force up the Salween River to Mong Mao Li Me's force burgeoned to four thousand men. In April 1950, Li Suring-Ching bonder for scattlered KMT survivors, and General and seems scoured the Kokang and Wa States along the MaisT mon in moon exocontain days because the same grand. Main and manufacturation. Training bases were constructed near new suggines, the KNAT underwent a period of vigorous expan MINIME STATES TO KALT FORCES IN MONE HEST WITH CAS and CAT transport aircraft were making at least fire The policy of the first factor against reported that are also and a later and

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disappear in the early 1950s. opium production when Yunnan's illicit production began to their personal contacts in mountain villages, their powerful army, Many Chinese soldiers inevitably married Lahu tribeswomen, . sbneir demands.

railhead. Once the material was paid for, it was the colonel's food, and clothing that arrived from Bangkok at the Chiang Mai colonel and his staff used raw opium to pay for the munitions, local Thai authorities. Posing as ordinary Chinese merchants, the liaison office with the Nationalist Chinese consulate and with shipped to Chiang Mai, where a KMT colonel maintained a carried, once the KMT opium lest Mong Hsat it was usually marked C-47s flying to Thailand and Taiwan. However it was much of the KMT opium was flown from Mong Hsat in unacross the Thai border. Burmese military sources claimed that from Mong Hsat and soon developed a regular caravan trade caravans found it convenient to haul opium on the outgoing trip supplies were carried overland from Thailand, the KMT mule either by mule train or aircraft. Since most of their munitions and animals. Almost all the KMT opium was sent south to Thailand, mountain transport unit, recruiting local mule drivers and their Soon after their arrival in Burma, the KMT had formed a

Drugs, the U.S., and khunsa pole of the CI.A.

resigned himself to holding the line in Burma. Li Mi quietly abandoned the idea of conquering China and forrays had conspicuously failed to arouse the populace, General flock to Chiang Kai-shek's banner. After the three abortive China, the "enslaved masses" would rise up against Mao and forte to Chiang Kai-shek's banner. After the three above men, they had been confident that once the KMT set foot in an analy of twelve thousand they had been confident that once the KMT set foot in an analy of twelve thousand they had been confident that once the KMT set foot in an analy of the Shan States.

The chiang Kai chart would nise up against Machine the foot in the Shan States.

The chiang Kai chart would nise up against Machine the foot in the Shan States. stretches of Yunnan Province with an army of twelve thousand his American advisors had not really expected to conquerthe and the secure opium and recruits. Given men, they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve thousand they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve they had been confident in a simple of twelve t There would be no more invasions. Although General Li Mi and stretches of Yunnan Province with a conquerthen attended to conquerthen. sixty miles before the Chinese army drove them back into Buma toops from Mong Yang invaded China and penetrated about toops from Mong Yang invaded China and penetrated about against the penetrated about against the penetrated about against the penetrated about against the penetrated about the penetrat bid to reconquer Yunnan Province. In August 1952, 2,100 km

allowed them to increase their control over the region's opium major opium-producing region, and the shift in KMT tactics Wa, and Kengtung states). These territories were also Burma's ritories between the Salween River and the China border (Kokang, became the only effective government in all the Shan States terpied with insurgency in other parts of Burma, the KMT soon territory as possible. Since the Burmese army was still preoccuthe China border and spread their troops out to control as much The KMT ceased concentrating their forces in a few bases on

Lahu tribesmen of Kengtung State, the Reverend Paul Lewis, annual tax in the form of opium. One American missionary to the lands. The KMT also required that every hilltribe farmer pay an using hundreds of petty opium traders to comb the Shan high-The KMT occupation centralized the marketing structure by

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With what appeared to be CIA support, the KMT began all loss its pressure, Chiang uncared to be CIA support, the KMT began all loss its pressure, Chiang uncared to be CIA support, the KMT began all loss its pressure, Chiang uncared to be CIA support to the KMT in Burna. The American ambassador to scale invasion of eastern Burna. In late 1952, thousands the General William Donovan, cabled back that the metreenance forded the Solutions. bons fide anti-Communist policy, the next move defied all log with what appeared to be CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support, the KMT bease its pressure, Chiang threatened to make public the CIA support to the CIA support the CIA support to the CIA support the CIA support to t ever feebly conceived they may have been, at least represent, he with what appeared to be CIA symmetrical move defied on the ninth of the conceived to be CIA symmetrical conceived to be conc allow areas. On the ninth of November, the U.S. ambassador to observed the Burnese delegation to accompany the others to the withdrawal, Thai police commander Phao refused to of brailiary Commission arrived in northern Thailand to responsibility to to forward it to Mong Haat. Usually the dealt with the commander of the Thai police, Generally the shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase. Usually the total to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the Four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the four-shipped the opium from Chiang Mai to Barrial phase of the four-shipped the opium from t Drugs, the U.S., and khung he gold of the C.I.A. and one and shung he gold of the C.I.A. and and shung he said in he ginning, and

bore no identification other than some personal letters wing Mekong River. The KMT continued to rule the hilltribes with an Mekong River. The KMT continued to rule the hilltribes with an Mekong River. The KMT continued to rule the hilltribes with an Mekong River. The KMT continued to rule the hilltribes with an Mekong River. The KMT continued to rule the hilltribes with an and New York addresses.) Burmese soldiers discovered the bodies of three caucasians who headquarters complex was established at Mong Pa Liao near the bore no identification other than some some statement of the hilltribes with an headquarters complex was established at Mong Pa Liao near the bore no identification other than some some statement of the hilltribes with an headquarters complex was established at Mong Pa Liao near the ingly, after a skirmish with the KMT at Wan Hsa La lem from Taiwan. A new KMT commander was appointed, and a burmese soldiers discovered the bodies of three roads at Mong Pa Liao near the hundred KMT troops had been smuggled into the Shan States March 1953, the Burmese fielded three crack brigades and quickly drove the KMT back across the Salwoon brigades and pean smuggled into the Salwoon brigades and pean smuggled brigades and pean s Although the continuing struggle faded from American

Chinese Nationalist troops in the area demanding food and "For many years there have been large numbers of iron hand. In 1957, an American missionary reported:

Wanton in 1959, they discovered three refineries of morphine well, When the Burmese army captured the KMT camp at tribes, but they increased their activities in the narcotics trade as Not only did the KMT continue to demand opium from the finding it necessary to flee." operate are getting poorer and poorer and some villages are

money from the people. The areas in which these troops

operations continued to create problems for both the Although forgotten by the international press, the KMT base operating near a usable airstrip.

The Burmesse, however, were suspicious of the arrangement

While the three CIA-sponsored invasions of Yunnan, how dealt with the commander of the Thai police, General Phan to Bangkok for the training that the the tra

Washington and New York addresses.) quickly drove the KMT back across the Salween River. Intriguthe beginning of an attempt to conquer the entire country. Buting trated advance. The Burmese government claimed that this mass he kept pressuring for withdrawl the beginning of an attempt to conquer the entire of the this mass of the kept pressuring struggle. mercenaries forded the Salween River and began a well-order. The Burmese government claimed the beginning for withdrawl scale invasion of eastern Burma. In late 1952, thousands of the KMT in Burma. Donovan, cabled back that the mercenaries forded the Salween River and began a would be and began a would be a support of the KMT in Burma. The CIA operations mercenaries forded the Salween River and began a would be a support of the Salween River and began a would be a support of the Salween River and began a would be a support of the Salween River and began a would be a support of the Salween River and began a would be a support of the Salween River and began a would be a support of the Salween River and began a would be a support of the Salween River and began a work of the Salween River and Bourna and Salween River and Bourna and Salween River and Salween River and Bourna and Salween River and Bourna and Salween River and Sa

trucked back to Chiang Rai, Thailand, and flown to Taiwan by the evacuees would march to the Burma-Thailand border, be bling and agree to the withdrawal of two thousand KMT troops in September did the Taiwan negotiators in Bangkok stop quib Bangkok), only after Burma took the issue to the United Nation to deal with the problem. At the meeting (which was held in Commission (the United States, Burma, Taiwan, and Thailand influence to convene, in May of 1953, a Four-Nation Military embarrassment for the United States that Washington used in By now the issue had become such a source of international

EMES, When and king of the CIA.

Police—and General Phao was the CIA's man in Thailand. the KMT's Bangkok connection was the commander of the Thai narcotics trade. But most disturbing of all is the coincidence that quantities of modern military equipment, mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of Americal origin, have been captured by Burness for mainly of American origin. sent a note of protest to the United Nations saying that "large can be no question of CIA Brow York Times and other major American quantities of modern military equipment project that "large carly as 1952. The New York Times and other major American quantities of modern military equipment project that "large carly as 1952. The New York Times and other major American demonstrators marched in front of the U.S. Embassy, and Burnt sent a note of protest to the United Mai. bearing distinctive American labels. In Rangoon, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose, 10,000 ang demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embose demonstrators marched in front of the 11.5 Embos Anti-Communist National Salvation Army in the borderlands of Laos. Burmese officers were outraged to discover Americal inthe affair. The CIA sppears to occurred the growth of the Yunnan Province in the appears to occurred the growth of the Yunnan Province in the appears to occurred the growth of the Yunnan Province in the appears to occurred the growth of the Yunnan Province in the borderlands of interpretable nation, the CIA appears to be much more seriously compromised many of their hilltribe recruits fled into the nearby mountains, to enrich itself from the narcotics trade. But upon closer examicated scross the Mekong River into a compromised to the more seriously compromise finally overwhelmed the fortress on January 26, 1961. Whe many of their hilltribe recruits fled into the nearby money is start from the narcotics trade. But upon closer examinately taking advantage of the agency's political protection many of their hilltribe recruits fled into the nearby money. Burnese opium trade seems to be just another case of a CIA client At first glance the history of the KMT's involvement in the Metan about half of Southeast Asia's thriving heroin business. socration almost half of the world's total illicit opium supply Mong Pa Liso. This base, with a runway capable of handling the KMT in the Golden Triangle region, KMT 'solting the largest transport aircraft, was defended by some ten a sport of the world's total illicit opium supply KMT transfer entered in the world's total illicit opium supply and transfer entered in the world's total illicit opium supply and transfer entered in the world's total illicit opium supply and transfer entered in the world's total illicit opium supply and transfer entered in the world's total illicit opium supply and transfer entered in the world's total illicit opium supply and transfer entered in the world's total illicit opium supply and the world in the world's total illicit opium supply and the world in t the despendent Today, nearly thirty years after the CIA began and harvest. Today, nearly thirty years after the CIA began and the CIA began the CIA began the colden Triba Cividen Triba and the care of sold of the Shan States to carry out the yeb yrav sin or saminos TMM and, the KMT continues to this very day more hundred to four hundred tons by 1962. From

THE THAI ELITE

ates occupying government posts, careers advancing step by function much like any other meritocracy, with university graduareas of authority. To the uninformed observer it seems to elaborate organizational charts marking out neatly delineated is a way of life. Like every bureaucracy, the Thai government has Government corruption is not just a problem in Thailand, it

> origin, have been captured by Burmese forces." weapons of recent manufacture and five tons of ammunition crack KMT retreated across the Mekong River into northwester full People's Liberation Army divisions (totaling 20,000 me weeks of heavy fighting, five thousand Burmese troops and the KMT troops entrenched in an elaborate fortified complex, All hong randon ransport aircraft, was defended by some ten thought and the largest transport aircraft, was defended by some ten thought one that the largest transport aircraft, was defended by some ten thought one that the largest transport aircraft, was defended by some ten thought one that the largest transport aircraft, was defended by some ten the largest transport aircraft, was defended by some ten the largest transport aircraft, was defended by some ten the largest transport aircraft. boroes unspure for combined operations against the king and assing a series against the king and a series against the king against the k also consisted operations also concluded as border also concluded as border dispute in the summer of 1960, they also conclude a border for combined operations against as a series of the conclude operations against as a series of the conclude operations as a series of the conclude operations and the conclude operations as a series of the conclusion of t Union of Burms and People's Republic of Chins mer long but they also create the burns in the summer of 1960, they also create the burns of the burns and beautiful and burns are the burns of the burns Burmese and Chinese governments, When delegations had been proposed and People's Republic of China met and People of China met and People's Republic of China met and People's Republic of China met and People of Ch

strategic alliance soon became a pivotal factor in the growth of Southeast Asia's narcotics traffic, in order to provide a secure rear area for the KMT, but this of the Thai police. The CIA promoted the Phao-KMT partnership where they were sold to a CIA client, General Phao Sriyanonda The KMT shipped bountiful harvests to northern Thailand

tenfold—from less than 40 tons at the end of World War II to an tribal populations to expand Shan State opium production nearly this time the Kuomintang had already used their control over the when the Burmese army drove them into Laos and Thailand. By With CIA support, the KMT remained in Burma until 1961,

Since official salaries have always been notoriously inadequal officers; the other was led by the commander in chief of the officers, each rising faction the dreams. to recruit supporters from the ranks of their brother offices of fice offices of fice offices of their brother offices of the offices of their offices of their offices of their brother offices of the basic needs not one of the offices of the other was led by the commander in chief of the other was led by the commander in chief of the other was led by the commander in chief of the military service, where a hardcore of friends and relatives begin since official salaries have always of their brother or A clique usually has its beginning in some branch of sarvice, where a hardcore of friends and relatives. The service, where to execute the coup himself, Marshal stary service, where a hardcore of friends and relatives. The some branch of the relatives of the coup himself, Marshal service, where a hardcore of friends and relatives. The some branch of ambitious young month of the power Thailand's wartime leader, Marshal Phibun Man and Man State Catapulied upward by the November 1947 coup which Marshal Sarit Thanatal. Both Marshal Sarit Thanatal. Both Hom House n'en les not les other by Marrhal Cliques: one led by General absoluted by an Igan 1947 to 1957, Thai politics was dominated by an from Leg1 ni yananam monarchy in 1932.

harmony. An exceptionally bitter struggle developed, however, the bureaucratic and commercial spoils were divided with equal balance to Sarit's forty-five thousand-man army.) And many of 1951, his forty thousand police officers were an adequate counterconcentrates on taking over a single government ministry of director-general of the National Police. (When Phao took over in director-general of the National Police (When Phao took over in director-general of the National Police.) extend their tentacles into the civilian sector. A clique usually forced to much rancor when Phao became deputy concentrates on taking over a single government. began to squabble over the division of the spoils. Military power Soon after the triumvirate took power, the two army cliques Colonel Phao Sriyanonda.

the country's richest economic assets. Its sudden, massive eco-The illicit opium trade had only recently emerged as one of over control of the opium traffic.

made it an unexceptional source of graft. However, the rapid imported opium and the reasonably strict government controls hundred years, by the time of the 1947 coup the high cost of official government Opium Monopoly had thrived for almost a of power between the Phao and Sarit cliques. Although the nomic significance may have served to upset the delicate balance

Aloney, power, and proceed and ideological factions, by greed and ambition factions, by greed and ambition. moncy, power, and patronage to become a government withing an anoncy, power, and patronage to become a government withing nilitary cliques whose driving ambition is to expropriate enough Altess orderly tasmon, and are) a facade, behind which operate powers dures were (and are) a facade, behind which operate powers whose driving ambition is to expropriate powers. cp, and proposals moving of these these charts and many in a facade, behind which operate four standard was and many as a facade, behind which operate from the standard for the step, and proposals moving up and down the hierarchy in the straint and army officers ended or less orderly fashion. But all of these these charts and smy officers ended by an dures were (and are) a facade, behind which opers, and the standard and the standard and the standard opers, and the s Drugs, the U.S., and khung whole of the C.I.A. and down the hieron. since ser

receive from the clique is rigidly controlled. not dare steal from the clique itself; and the amount of money they bers may steal from the official government, but they usually do divide the remainder among their loyal followers. Clique memladder, where leaders skim off vast sums for themselves and tionaries engage in extortion or graft, passing the money up the disciplined pyramid of corruption. At the bottom, minor funcor the lumber industry. By the time a clique matures it has a highly monopolizing a certain realm of business, such as the rice trade a certain amount of money, all cliques are eventually forced by mentary income. While graft within the military itself provides officers, each rising faction must find itself a source of supple. for the basic needs—not to mention the dreams—of many officers; the other was led by his aggressive son-in-law, officers, each rising faction must find itself a source of many officers; the other was led by his aggressive son-in-law, mentary income 147.

and counter-coups that have determined the course of Thai tary faction. Such confrontations account for nearly all the coups national power, it is inevitably forced to confront another mili-When such a clique grows strong enough to make a bid for

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Meign announced in 1948 (all opium smoking was to have ended (£30,164) Moralive that Thailand quietly abandoned the anti-opium cam-

Lampang, took possession of the opium, and jointly escorted it to tinued for two days until Phao and Sarit themselves arrived in machine guns and dug in for a fire-fight. A nervous standoff consuccessful opium eradication campaign. Although the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities. Although the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities and the monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities. surrender the opium since anti-narcotics work was the exclusive paice surrounded the convoy and demanded that the soldiers s'osala morthem Thailand with a shipment of opium, Phao's General Sarit's army convoys approached the railhead at Lamwith a most comical exception occurred in 1950 as one of The almost all the battles concealed by a clock of official 1955). The 'opium war' between Phao and Sarit was a hidden one,

In the underground struggle for the opium trade, General Bangkok, where it quietly disappeared.

amounts of modern equipment that Sea Supply Corporation gave millitary advisors repeatedly refused to grant to his army the large division, and a police paratroop unit. General Sarit's American to establish a police air force, a maritime police, a police armored to General Phao's police force. With this materiel, Phao was able quantities of naval vessels, arms, armored vehicles, and aircraft zation, the Sea Supply Corporation, began delivering lavish support cannot be underestimated. In 1951, a CIA front organiingredients in Phao's victory, the critical importance of CIA of this 'opium war' makes it difficult to reconstruct the precise Phao slowly gained the upper hand. While the clandestine nature

Since Sea Supply shipments to KMT troops in Burma were Phao's police.

> At the first of the only country in south of At the first United Nations narcotics conference in 1952.
>
> At the first United Vations the only country in Some 1952. cline in imports of 100 and the 1950s suddenly made worth fighting over. opium and the 1950s the Brown Ahung the Role of the C.I.A. and the 1950s the Brown Annual the 1950s the Brown and the Brown

But these gains in local production were soon dwarfed by the opium-growing regions, stimulating a dramatic increase in Thi attracted an increasing number of Meo tribespeople into Thailand's poppy cultivation in the northern hills for the first time. The edict needs for raw opium, in in 1947 the Thai government authorized of foreign imports was not too promising. To meet their projected monopoly was still able to import sufficient quantities, the fulur were inickling to an end as the People's Republic initialed in production in April 1946, and smuggled supplies from Child policy is Republic, and smuggled supplies from Child As possible. Iran had already imposed a temporary ban on oping pans as possible. Iran had already imposed a temporary ban on oping pans as possible from a solution of the pansion of the neatening trian and medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be ended as some ment that all non-medical opium exports should be exported as should be ended threatening than the criticism, however, was the general age, the general age, and the general age, and a specific and a speci Asia still operating a legal government monopoly. Fat monopoly, Fat mono

tional opium trafficking in the region. The traffic had became so stated that Bangkok had become the major center for internafrom Southeast Asia, and in 1954 British customs in Singapore KMT opium. By 1949 most of the Thai monopoly's opium was sent through Thailand, Bangkok became a natural entrepot for were at war with the Burmese and since their U.S. supplies were production in the Shan States, which they occupied. The KMT 1950s, the KMT filled the void by forcing an expansion of Iranian and Chinese opium gradually disappeared in the early even more substantial increases in the Burmese Shan States. As

ANIA FERRENIUS PA

died by maritime police to a mid-ocean rendezvous with miles no Bangkok by train or police aircraft. It was then build a virtual monopoly on Burmese opium exports. Phaored the balance of the bal The state of the KMT caravans from the Thailand-Burma border to the state of the the thouse of the state of t

frontier, where he personally led his men in these desperate gun he often made hurried, dramatic departures to the northern posing as the leader in the crusade against opium smuggling, and opium would subsequently disappear. Phao himself delighted in collected a reward worth one-eighth of the retail value. The the police heroes brought the 'captured' opium to Bangkok and ably, the KMT guerrillas would drop the opium and flee, while with the KMT smugglers near the Thai-Burma frontier. Invaritheatrics, with police border guards staging elaborate shoot-outs Opium Monopoly, political considerations necessitated bizarre However, if the opium was needed for the government

2 Under the Kennedy administration, Presidential adviser evolution of large-scale opium trafficking in the Burma-Thailand opium commerce, how do we evaluate the CIA's role in the Given its even greater involvement in the KMT's Shan States in establishing himself as the exclusive exporter of KMT opium. ments to the KMT no doubt gave Phao a considerable advantage to the sea lanes. And his role in protecting Sea Supply's ship-Phao the logistic capability to move opium from the poppy fields supplied the aircraft, motor vehicles, and naval vessels that gave asset to General Phao in managing the opium traffic. The agency There can be little doubt that CIA support was an invaluable battles with the ruthless smugglers of slow death.

Al power in his lavor and five cabinet slots, while Sarit's fraction and his clique captured five cabinet slots, while Sarit's fraction and taken control as the control of the control of the captured five cabinet slots, while Sarit's fraction and taken control of the captured five captured five cabinet slots, while sarit's fraction and taken control of the captured five capture cal power in his favor and in a December 1951 cabinet reshum, only one. Within a year, Sant's rival had tale and straightforwardly established and straightforwardly established five cabinet slots, while Sarit's fraction only one. Within a year, Sant's rival had tale and tale onto civilian coastal vessels and straightforwardly established five cabinet slots, while Sarit's fraction only one. Within a year, Sant's rival had tale and tale onto civilian coastal vessels and straightforwardly established five cabinet slots, while Sarit's fraction only one. Within a year, Sant's rival had tale of the cabinet slots with the cabinet slots of the cabinet dild a virtual monopory of financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and military power quickly tipped the balance of police financial and police financial save him extensive KMT contacts, through which he was able to make the man and a summer opium exports. Phan and a summer opium exports, Phan and a summer opium exports and a sum protected by the Thai police, Phao's alliance with the Classian extensive KMT contacts, through which he was also opium was destined for export, police border to build a virtual monopoly on Burmese opium export, and the KMT caravans from the Thailand-Burma border to financial and military police police guards from the Thailand-Burma border to build a virtual monopoly on Burmese opium export, he was also financial and military police police guards financial and military police police police guards financial and military police. Drugs, the U.S., and khungo purple of the C.I.A. and khungo purple of the C.I.A.

My one, the most phao was widely recognized as the most pow. Fer only one. Within a year, Sant's rival had taken control of the government and Phao was widely recognized as the most in Thailand.

erful man in Thailand.

erful man in Thailand.

businessmen, and forced them to appoint him to the boards of collected protection money from Bangkok's wealthiest Chinese profitable Bangkok slaughterhouse, rigged the gold exchange, financial base. He took over the vice rackets, expropriated the Phao used his new political power to further strengthen his

such miscellaneous services as preventing Burmese observers shipments to the KMT, marketed their opium, and performed and to support its guerrilla units in Burma, Phao protected supply major obligation was to further KMT political aims in Thailand Thailand's most ardent anti-Communist, and it appears that his became the CIA's most important Thai client. Phao became mat hailed as the "worst man in the whole history of Thailand") called a "superlative crook" (and whom a respected Thai diplo. The man who C. L. Sulzberger of the The New York Times

of corruption was remarkable even by Thai standards. If the mately involved in every phase of the narcotics traffic; the level largest opium-trafficking syndicate in Thailand and was ulti-By 1955, Phao's National Police Force had become the 1953 airlifts of supposed KMT soldiers to Taiwan, managed KMT soldiers to Taiwan, from going to the staging areas during the November-December

CHARLES OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE

regional warlord controls the traffic in his own territory. reflects a more fragmented and feudal political tradition: each In contrast, the opium trade in Laos and the Shan States of Burma to centralize and monopolize all of Thailand's narcotics traffic. tions. As a result, a single political faction has usually been able province, are rarely betrayed during struggles with other facable to control every corrupt functionary in the most remote and died with an estate of over \$150 million. Such potentates, mistresses, arbitrarily executed criminals at public spectacles, old god-kings. Marshal Sant, for example, had over a hundred authoritarian leaders enjoy an opulent lifestyle reminiscent of the and pass money up the chain of command to the top, where tion, legions of functionaries systematically plunder the nation

At the base of Thailand's contemporary pyramids of corrupwith the traditional patterns of corrupted, autocratic government. the growth of any internal revolutions that might have broken certain veneer of technical sophistication but have also inhibited five years of American advisers have given the government a -Vinawi bine stassivbe ngiatof foreign advisers and twenty-

keome America's major heroin supplier, sed if bas well-protected, disciplined syndicates; and it has smulgoandquas and algand Triangle has surplus opium; s'sshon in the world—a vast reservoir able to supply America's an soort (the largest single opium-growing) an sold the bay the largest, by the early 1960s the the CIA actively organized the traffic is something that only the

halt the trade or to prevent its aid from being abused. But whether mission on Narcotic Drugs. And certainly the CIA did nothing to censure that Thailand received from the United Nations Comclearly a protege of the CIA, was obviously responsible for the traffic. Headlines made it known to the whole world. Phao, doubt: the CIA knew its allies were heavily involved in the KMT, through the narcotics traffic? Of one thing there can be no conscious decision by the CIA to support its allies, Phao and the But was this increase in opium production the result of a

remarkable, from seven tons to over 100 tons. nearly 2,000 tons today. Thailand's growth was even more reach three hundred to four hundred tons in 1962—and then to increased from less than forty tons just before World War II to put approached its present level; Burma's total harvest had tant opium distribution center. The Golden Triangle's opium outopium-consuming nation to emerge as the world's most impor-Under General Phao's leadership, Thailand had changed from an with the discipline, technology, and ruthlessness of the KMT,

Never before had the Shan States encountered smuggleng organizations expropriated the traffic from bands of illiterate naval vessels replaced sampans, and well-trained milliary opium trade during the 1950s; modern aircraft replaced mules, seems to have sparked such a "takeoff" in the Burna, Thailand of self-sustaining growth, CIA support for Phao and the KMT subsequently be withdrawn as the economy coasted into a pend the subsequently be withdrawn as the economy coasted into a pend the subsequently be withdrawn as the economy coasted into a pend the subsequently be withdrawn as the economy coasted into a pend the subsequently be withdrawn as the economy coasted into a pend the subsequently be withdrawn as the economy coasted into a pend the subsequently be withdrawn as the economy coasted into a pend the economy coasted into a a massive injection of foreign aid and capital, capital which could a massive injection of foreign as the economy consted integral integra Ahich preached into a period of rapid growth, an economic "takeoff," by be jolted into a period of rapid growth, and capital, capital which which the capital which which the capital which which the capital capital which the capital capital capital which the capital capita Walt W. Rostow popularized a doctrine of economic development, underdeveloped economy

Drugs, the U.S., and Khung, pole of the C.I.A.

esided in a formal bande at Ban Khwan in Laos, i

which he transformed into a KKY unit.

exports from Burna, thus sparking an 'Opium War' The conflict

with KMT troops, who until then had controlled 90 percent of

caravans of opium into Thailand and Laos. This led to clashes

its bountiful opium production, and was soon sending large

Yang and Ving Ngun close to the Wa States, an area renown for

then became leader of his own army of several hundred men

Shan prince. He had gained military experience with the KMT,

The young swashbuckler settled around the towns of Tang

The major producer of heroin in the Far East today is Khing and The major producer of heroin in the Far East today is Khing and The major producer of heroin in the Far East today is Khing and The Market and The Marke

Khun

Khun Sa, 54, is a likable man, growing old gracefully, and up opium production in the Golden Triangle to 1200 tons a year, short time ago arrogantly and publicly announced his plan to slep Sa is the man who during an interview at his fortress in Burnaga Phomyihane; a Thai, Lao Su; a Burmese, Kom Jemg—but Khun warlords' in the Golden Triangle—the Laotian leader, Kaysone

Laos area, he is the product of a mixed marriage, of mixed Shan

quick to smile. Like many of the people in the Burma-Thailand.

in narcotics and other contraband. There are several other opium in narcotics and other contraband. The Laotian leader which Sa, an enigmatic character who makes a fortune through his trade

HHER KYKEYA AKFRA

KHINN SY', LIIK HENOUN KING

snowyers having neds tot oldguns ein gnionenil to enesm ylno od es obett distribution point. Khun Sa claimed to have entered the narcotics kilometers from the Burmese frontier, which they used as a drug the SUA settled in the Shan village of Ban Hin Taek, eight with his power and had soon spread to Thai territory. A sector of come from the Golden Triangle refineries. His influence grew groups, soon controlled 70 percent of the heroin production to involved in the illegal drug trade and, with his subordinate image of Khun Sa's brigands. Khun Sa quickly became deeply "Sa" being his stepfather's name, his mother having remarried a the Shan United Army (SUA), hoping to improve the political adopted the pseudonym 'Khun Sa', khun meaning "Lord" and about 2,000 men, which the Shan State Army (SSA) had dubbed local sawbwa. Though his given name is Chang Chi-fu, he After five years in jail, Khun Sa reassembled his army of Maw in the Mong Yai State and claims maternal descent from a and Haw Chinese blood; he was bom in 1933 (or 1934) in Loi

рау ѕотећом." he said, rubbing his groin. "I promised then that I'd make them

smile and turns hard. "I've never forgotten what they did to me,"

Telling this story, Khun Sa's usually amiable face loses its

19best benozingmi zin 101 modt begnedoxs Russian doctors working at the Taunggyi hospital and ultimately Chuang (sometimes referred to as Chan Shu-chin), abducted two ynderwent torture. In 1973, one of his lieutenants, Chang Tze onison where for months, at least according to his own word, he hor Lashio region, while Khun Sa languished in a Mandalay sizing army still controlled the opium-producing districts Schools to have been eliminated from the Golden Triangle. se much to have been eliminated to 1969, Khun Sa tagis, on charges, on charges, on charges, with his subsequent arrest by Burmess authorhies, on charges

Lacops, KMT uccops, and Lacotan uccops, Khun Sa was

ANIX MODH MULLINK

Drugs, the U.S., and Khung

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closed out of the Kokang State by the BCP and made to confint organize a KKY militia unit. After the defeat of Khun Sa,

1973 and handed over—once again—to the Burmese Govern-The Yang family administered Kokang like a private fief and handed over—once again—to the Burmese Govern-bandit groups at the beginning of 1950. One of the family and handed over—once again—to the Burmese Govern-bandit groups was been at the beginning of 1950. One of the family and handed over—once again—to the Burmese Govern-bandit groups was been at the beginning of 1950. One of the family and handed over—once again—to the Burmese Govern-bandit groups was bring the figure of the family and handed over—once again the burmese Govern-bandit groups at the beginning of 1950. One of the family and handed over—once again—to the Burmese Govern-bandit groups at the beginning of 1950. One of the family administered field and the family administered fie Thailand after fighting the Burmese government for three year bus min sound the opportunity to denounce him and way General Yang, a member of a noble Kokang family, withdrew in from the Burmese. General became chief of staff of Jimmy Yang's army of 3,000 the Observat Character Shan Stafes where he will the different Shan rebel groups, but withdrew to Thailand of the Burmese. General Thailand after fighting the Burmese family, with bom in Yunnan and emigrated to the Shan States where the states are states to the states where the states are states as a state of the states are states are states as a state of the states are states are states as a state of the states are states are states as a state of the states are states are states as a state of the states are states as a state of the states are states Micel our and General Lee Wen Huan. He tried to rally support approaching the stature of Khun Sa being Lo Hain Han, who was approaching the stature of Khun Sa being Lo Hain Han, who was approaching the stature of Khun Sa being Lo Hain Han, who was a special to the Shan States.

Independence Army (SSIA) in 1964 and then broke away to freed the same year and Lo Hsin Han's fall enabled him to regain was in charge of the Kokang Force, which joined the Shan State sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. Khun SA was bandit groups was headed by Jimmy's sister, Olive Yang, Jimmy ment. Initially, Lo Hsin Han was condemned to death, but his organized armed groups at the beginning of 1950, One of the first

leaders called on a guerilla expert, Saw Yan Da, from the Tal Other groups, such as the Shan United Revolutionary Army cooperate with the KMT, The SSIA was formed after Shan supremacy.

the BCP itself became more directly involved in drug production the Haw traders to collect opium on Khun Sa's behalf, but later tially, the BCP simply 'licensed' poppy cultivation and allowed In 1959, the SSIA was formed from the nationalist-oriented States and thus controls most of the high-yielding, areas. Iniof Lashio, but this group rapidly split into a number of factions. its influence over almost the entire Kokang, Wa, and Kengtung Han' on May 21, 1958. He operated in the mountains to the west Sa's table. The BCP, on the other hand, has managed to extend from Mandalay and Rangoon, forming the rebel group 'Nom Suk but only to the extent of sharing the crumbs that drop from Khun adopted the name 'Sao Noi' and recruited high school students dent Amy (WNA) have remained involved in illegal drug activities, (Dai) community in Yunnan, to set up a clandestine army. He (the SURA, commanded by Moh Heng) and the Wa National

by reinforced units of the remnant 93rd KMT Division. and other contraband to Houei Sai Village in Laos, came under 500-man caravan, carrying about 60 tons of opium, uncut jade, the story of his capture by the Burmese in early 1969. Khun Sa's great flourish, in a grandiloquent manner he rehashed to reporters Khun Sa enjoys relating stories about his past and, with a and trafficking.

captured in 1965, but the Burmese Army subsequently released to rally support from the different Shan. Lo Hsin Han was made to confront the KMT and General Lee Wan Huan. He tried suppliers until forced out of the Kokang State by the BCP and defeat of Khun Sa, he became one of the Shan States' main opium

subsequently released him to organize a KKY militia. After the Lo Hsin Han was captured in 1965, but the Burmese Army faction, with 90 students and 140 Shan defectors from the

OTHER SHAN WARLORDS

Mhile still under the protection of the powerful Thais in The two factions engaged in a flerce running battle that large place, bis face again grew hard and he paused, looking at uddenly intercepted by Laotian soldiers advantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at uddenly intercepted by Laotian soldiers advantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage, his face again grew hard and he paused, looking at the salvantage.

out the Shan State near the Thai border. Refineries were set up were divided into numerous smaller units and scattered throughstrong. These soldiers, under the leadership of my trusted aides, brought into Thailand to live. While there, I married a Thai, Khe positions and built several scattered fortresses and bastions. Yoon." "Upon my release, and with the aid of influential Thais, I was smaller local drug producers." I continued to strengthen my vought into Thailand to live. While there, I married a Trais, I was smaller local drug producers. To continued to live with the sid of influential Thais, I was smaller local drug producers. Thailand to live, While there, I married a Trais of huilt several scattered fortresses and bastions. "But I have friends all over," Khun Sa emphasized, smiling that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it took to regroup and recetablish his authority over several that it is a recetable to receive the recetable that it is a recetable to receive the receiver that it is a recetable to receive the receiver that it is a receiver that Life was difficult for the warlord, but only for the short time

"er, Thai police and government officials, as well as Burnese lished bases on several nearby hilltops on the Burmese side of the intang Force—away from Doi Lang. Khun Sa's men also estabincluding the A-bi hilltribe and the troops of the Chinese Kuomthen proceeded to drive several other small, armed rebel groups superior transportation and communications. The Shan rebels Thailand and establish refineries there also in order to utilize the Khun Sa also ordered a few units to infiltrate back into and I began the shipment of various grades of heroin."

OTHER T

intense fighting. "They thought they had finished me, but I knun Sa was able to escape from his Bangkok home and slip back with several of my commanders," Khun Sa was able to escape from his Bangkok home and slip back with several of my commanders," Khun Sa was able to escape from his Bangkok home and slip back whith several of my commanders," Khun Sa was able to escape from his Bangkok home and slip back band. Khun Sa and the KMT lost more than 200 men in the configuration ample warning of what was taking place in the north, in the north, which is and the KMT lost more than 200 men in the configuration and slip back home and slip back in the north, which is and the kmt lost more than 200 men in the configuration and slip back in the more than 200 men in the configuration and slip back in the more than 200 men in the configuration and slip back in the more than 200 men in the configuration and slip back in the more than 200 men in the configuration and slip back in the c Burma, General Ounc and his troops 'confiscated' the contra fight from Sa's men were forced back into Burma. Having hand, Khun Sa and the KMT lost more than 200 men ample warning of what was taking place in the north, length of the contract forced back into Burma. Having hand, Khun Sa and the KMT lost more than 200 men ample warning of what was taking place in the north, length from Sa and the KMT lost more than 200 men ample warning of what was taking place in the north, length from Sa and the KMT lost more than 200 men ample warning of what was taking place in the north, length from Sa and the KMT lost more than 200 men ample warning of what was taking place in the north, length from Sa and the KMT lost more than 200 men ample warning of what was taking place in the north, length from Sa and the KMT lost more than 200 men ample warning of what was taking place in the north, length from Sa and the contract that was taking place in the north, length from Sa and the lost from Sa and planes, While the troops of the two rebel factitions fled back into Burma. Having Rail army at Ban Hin Tack in the roted back into Burma. Having planes, While the troops of the two rebel factitions fled back into Burma. Having Rail province. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in the north, Rail province. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in the north, Rail province. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in the north, Rail province. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in the north, Rail province. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in the north, Rail province. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in the north, Rail province. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in the north, Rail province. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in the north, Rail province. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in the north, Rail province. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in the north, Rail province and the second province in the north page 1 and 1 a Ounc's Lao infantry forces, which had the acrial support of Tager and his troops of the two rebel factitions fled back. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in plants. While the troops of the two rebel factitions fled back. The headquarters was attacked by Thai forces in plants. Having the troops of the two rebel factitions fled back. Both the KMT and Khun Sa's men were attacked by General Sand Hin Tack in the Mac Chan District of Chiang ance, which had the acrial support of the Lao Amy at Ban Hin Tack in the Mac Chan District of Chiang ance, while the two roles attacked by General support of the two roles are graphed at the serial support of the two roles o for several days, with neither side gaining the advantage, They stax to him for permitting the paused, looking at were suddenly intercepted by Laotian soldiers under the salvantage. They have protection of the powerful Thais in and of General Oune Rattikone, commander of the powerful Thais in the protection of the powerful Thair in the protection of the protection of the powerful Thair in the protection of the

THE MOVE INTO THAILAND

situation and drug trading. at a large hotel in Pattaya where they discussed the political and General Bo Mya, President of the Karen National Union, mel continued to do business as usual. On March 19, 1977, Khun Sa statement renouncing the drug trade, although he clandestinely protection of the powerful Thai friends, Khun Sa made a public a house at Pattanawet 5, Sukhumvit Soi 71. While under the The records show that with his Thai wife's help, he purchased

"He turned down my proposal to allow dance to travel

Sold Sold

were soon being shipped by many means of transportation from of the being the faires, ships, boats, couniers—along a myin.

Tes through the Far East to reach destinations:

The suppose of the succession of the success of the succes soldiers who were looking for fast and easy money, were honght into the fold. Business prospered, and tons of hence hong the first time artillery had ever been used against and brought into the fold. Business prospered, and tons of hence hong the government's overcautious preparations and sand brought into the fold. Business prospered, and tons of hence hong the government's overcautious preparations and the sair planes, ships, boats, couriers—alone and the fair fast to reach a soon being ships and tons of transportation. 8niX nioraH an an all all

chicken's throat is being slit." (This is a Thai expression meaning to intimidate someone by making him witness harm defends to mithin 20 kilometers of the KNU's protect to making him witness harm defends advanced to within 20 kilometers of the KNU's protect to making him witness harm defends the making him witness has been defended him witness him witness him witness has been defended h fronts in Burma facing the Thai provinces of Chiang Rai, Mae Kachin, Muser, and Arakan ethnic minorities along eight battle ultimately engaged rebels of the Karen, Shan, Pa-o, Kayah, and from Mac Chan District in Chiang Rai. The Burmese forces The American Drug Enforcement Agency stationed at Chiang San increasing the amount of evidence of drug product of the product On the Burmese side of the border, 2,000 Burmese troops

ordered the killings of Westerners, he replied, "Because they back to normal for Khun Sa. When interrupted to ask why he had Chiang Mai, and Mac Hong Son. In a few weeks, things were extended his influence to the border areas adjacent to Chiang Rai, soil also forced Khun Sa to set up new bastions, and he has since as in eash and bank drafts. The elimination of the SUA on Thai near for his drugs was made in ammunition and rifles, as well replace whatever equipment and weapons that had been lost. The narcotics from his stock onto the market, gathering money to But Khun Sa had been hurt. The drug kingpin hastily dumped rebel forces succeeded in breaking contact, however, and with-

THAN OUTE &

mule trains, air planes, ships, boats, couriers—along a mynad of the far East to reach destinations in Hong Kong, sucrement's overcannent's overcannent's overcannent's overcannent's overcannent and pack across the multiple of the guerrillas pulled back across the multiple of the guerrillas meeting only many means of transportation.

Australia, Europe and America.

RUNNING AFOUL OF THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT AGENCY

dramatically. for their protection, and the war against Khun Sa was stepped up officials were evacuated from the northern provinces to Bangkok killed, a move that proved to be a big mistake. Families of U.S. land. Following Khun Sa's directives, two CIA agents were terrorist missions against American officials in northern Thai-"to intimidate someone by making him witness harm done to porters and were preparing to strike. All the also wanted the agency itself hit and so here to meaning the strike and were preparing to strike. All the hope to making him witness harm done to porters and were preparing to strike. All the hope to have a strike and were preparing to strike. All the hope to have a strike and were preparing to strike. All the hope to have a strike and were preparing to strike. All the hope to have a strike and were prepared to have a strike and were preparing to strike. All the hope to have a strike and were preparing to strike. All the hope to have a strike and were preparing to strike. All the hope to have a strike and were preparing to strike. All the hope to have a strike and were prepared to have a strike and were prepared to have a strike. All the hope to have a strike and were prepared to have a strike. All the strike are the hope to have a strike and were prepared to have a strike and were prepared to have a strike and were prepared to have a strike and the strike and the hope to have a strike and the strike and the strike and the strike are the strike and the strike and the strike and the strike and the strike are the strike and the strike are the strike and the str it provided to the Thai government, disclosures which eventually Mai began increasing the amount of evidence of drug production

were airlifted to a base close to Doi Lang for additional ground gunships provided air support and two 105mm artillery pieces straddles the Thai-Burma border, and attacked. Seven helicopter roads to Khun Sa's stronghold on Doi Lang Mountain, which airbome unit from Thailand's Third Army Region, sealed off the In 1982 over 2,000 Rangers, border policemen, and a special

U.S. officials should come to Thailand for further discussions. brief meeting in Bangkok in November, indicating that concerned meant specify who, but it is understood he meant Phra Chamroon urged the United States to lead "damaged for the United States to lead "damaged the area, Khun Sa requested another meeting with Bo Mys, the area of Burna's Karen National Union's (KNU) 15,000, the that time in its fortieth year of arms in its fortieth year of arms in its fortieth year of arms at that time in its fortieth year of arms in its fortieth year of arms.

years is a tall order. But for Phra Chamroon, it is not. He argued most observers, requesting US\$570 million over a period of six assistance, to the tune of US\$95 million a year for six years. To government by taxing cross-border trade, and by exporting 1824. According to Phra Chambon, the price of U.S. 'economic materials—mainly minerals and timber trade, and by exporting 1824. According to Phra Chamroon, Khun Sa proposed to put an

used as a tool by Khun Sa, but the abbot is convinced that he is Phra Chamroon does not reject the notion that he is being war against drug addiction and prevention. that the United States already spends much more than that in its

stearth thod are squorg todar oth gnome gnithgais.

does not wipe the slate clean. Worldwide pressure on Khun Sa

population under his control awaiting certain death if Khun Sa

Shan United Army are addicted to drugs, with the rest of the

of need," Abbot Chamroon emphasized, Some 3,500 men in the

sames about his proposal because of the pressures

a common concern about reducing the availability of drugs.

working for world-wide benefit, and stresses that there should be

U.S. embassy official confirms, "because the United States drawal from the opium business. "He made no headway then," a gresssman Lesster Wolff asking for money in return for his with Once before, in 1977, Khun Sa had approached U.S. Con-

ners—them, the DEA and the CIA, both,"

After uniting and absorbing the forces of several hilltinbeging with Rolling with Rolling and absorbing the meeting and absorbing the m

meter stretch of land along Thailand's western border, materials—mainly minerals and timber—from their 1,000 kilo. narcotics, instead financing their struggle against the Burness government, The KNU has a reputation for being an opponent and to try and entice him into the struggle against the Burmess had met Khun Sa solely to urge him to stop narcotics production and to try and entice him into the struggle against the plan to former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger during a sand to try and entice him into the struggle against the plan to former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger during a sand to try and entice him into the struggle against the plan to former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger during a sand to try and entice him into the struggle against the sand entice him into the sand entitle him into meeting later, Bo Mya denied the allegations and claimed thather were said to have supplied to the Allegations and claimed thather the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of had met Khun Sa solely to urge him to stop narcotics met the description of State Henry Kissinger during a reaching the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of had met Khun Sa solely to urge him to stop narcotics met the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of properties of state Henry Kissinger during a reaching the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of properties of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkling of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of the U.S. and Europe. Phra Chamroon gave an inkline of exchange for arms and ammunition. When questioned about the meeting later, Bo Mya denied the allegations and claimed the dealer, were said to have supplied 60 to 90 percent of the heroin meeting later, Bo Mya denied the allegations and claimed the dealer, were said to have supplied 60 to 90 percent of the heroin meeting later, Bo Mya denied the allegations and claimed the later were said to have supplied 60 to 90 percent of the heroin meeting later, Bo Mya denied the allegations and claimed the later were said to have supplied 60 to 90 percent of the heroin meeting later, Bo Mya denied the allegations and claimed the later were said to have supplied 60 to 90 percent of the heroin meeting later, Bo Mya denied the allegations and claimed the later were said to have supplied 60 to 90 percent of the heroin meeting later. Bo Mya denied the allegations and claimed the later were said to have supplied 60 to 90 percent of the heroin meeting later. Bo Mya denied the later were said to have supplied for the later were said to have supplied for the heroin meeting the later were said to have supplied for the later were said to have a later were said to hav allow Khun Sa to transport narcotics through KNU territory in State dealer, Khun Sa, whose activities along the Thai-Burmese exchange for arms and ammunition. When questioned at the property of the heroin state dealer, Khun Sa, whose activities along the Thai-Burmese exchange for arms and ammunition. When questioned at the property of the percent of the heroin state dealer, Khun Sa, whose activities along the Thai-Burmese exchange for arms and ammunition. When questioned at the property of government in Rangoon. Their intent was to join forces and the didn't specify whose activities along the Thai-Burmese exchange for arms and one transport narcotics through KMU term. at that time in its fortieth year of armed struggle against the he area, Kindin ou required National Union's (KNU) 15,000 med leader of Burma's Karen National Union's (KNU) 15,000 med struggle again in femiliar vear of armed struggle again.

An old idea had been replanted in Kung Sa's mind. years—if the necessary financial assistance were to be obtained the total eradication of opium in his territory within six to eight exchange for an opium eradication program. Khun Sa agreed to of last year and offered financial assistance from abroad in details, it now appears that Bo Mya was approached in the middle Although the KNU leadership is unwilling to disclose the

is engaged in fighting a government that Washington recognited didn't then, and still does not, engage in talks with a 'rebel' who

Dell'alle

that it is merely a centuries-old tradition in Laos to use marijuana industry—marijuana smuggling. The cover story for the world is Laos with even more opportunity to move in on another growth Mekong River. The move of the operation, ironically, provided of a stream that a few miles downstream turns into the mile-wide when Sa's territory in Thailand, separated only by a mere trickle unde won snowing operations now abut thorng several factories already in operation from Vientiane ginoing is his first priority aumoundings, his first priority Which to make the drug, After and a sanctuary in which to make the drug, After eyes to Laos in 1982, seeking another ally in the person of Kaysone Phomyihane. The Lao government, under the person of Kaysone Phomyihane, has been another the person of Kaysone Phomyihane, has been and a sanctuary in which to make the drug. After the point of Kaysone Phomyihane, has been and a first priority of Kaysone Phomyihane, has been and a first priority of Kaysone Phomyihane, has been and a first priority of Kaysone Phomyihane, has been and a first priority of Kaysone Phomyihane, has been and a first priority of Kaysone Phomyihane, has been and a first priority of Kaysone Phomyihane, has been all the person of Kaysone Phomyihane and the person of the pe His feet now on finner ground in Burns, Khun Sa fumed in Laos in 1982, seeking another ally in the feet in the partners. For Khun Sa fumed in the new on finner ground in Burns, Khun Sa fumed in Laos in 1982, seeking another ally in the feet in the partners. For Khun Sa fumed in Burns, Khun Sa fumed in Laos in the alliance offers another source of some Phomyrhane. The Lao ground in the feet in the feet in which to make the drug. After sone Phomyrhane, The Lao ground in the feet in the feet in which to make the drug. After sone phomyrhane, The Lao ground in the feet in the feet in which to make the drug. Svile-10-beab, 000, 22\$ a \$25,000, dead-or-alive

that his current right-hand man, Chang Hsuchern, would succeed the dominant partner, Khun Sa, who immediately proclaimed Real power—control of the council's finances—was retained by president of the alliance was clearly a sop to his well-known ego. to be little more than a figurehead, and naming the TRA leader as official USSPC ideology. Mo Hein's role in the USSPC appears cotics trafficking. These goals have been proclaimed as the Burmese government, the Burmese Communist Party, and narcal philosophy has declared itself to be in opposition to the otic Council (USSPC), in September 1987. The Mo Hein politialliance. They formed a new party, the United Shan State Patriwho is Khun Sa's uncle, held discussions which led to another In 1985, Mo Hein, chairman of the TRA, and Khun Saeng, as a cooking spice.

him if he should be assassinated. Khun Sa also stated that in 1987

its methods of operation, but they have never forced it to close Thai and foreign press have occasionally forced Laos to change government has been the United Nations. Disclosures by both the diplomatic community ever to publicly criticize the Laotian anti-narcotics officials, the only members of the international the world markets. Except for a handful of Thai intelligence and huge amounts of heroin, morphine, opium, and marijuana onto since at least 1977, with Kaysone and his regime having poured ship of Kaysone Phomyihane, has been a major narconcs peddler Kaysone Phomyihane. The Lao government, under the leader

SOLIVIARY IN LAOS

the communists which might expose incriminating documents and—barring a major defection or an overnight rebellion against how Kaysone and his cohorts became drug dealers is murky Republic legalized the growing of poppies. Exactly when and first administrative announcements in 1976, the new People's tiane, and has moved most of his factories into Laos. In one of its drug warlord receives both support and protection from Vienin collusion with the notorious Khun Sa. The Burmese-Chinese But clearly the small, tight Communist politburo in Vientiane is Kaysone alliance are unknown, and Khun Sa refuses to elaborate. with success, although many of the details of the Khun Sa-Khun Sa's request for help from the Lao government met

notincongruous, Itmixes a Vietnamese-trained, Marxist-Leninist The Kaysone-Khun Sa alliance is at first glance curious, if

Saigon between 1973-75; and Daniel Amold, a former CIA national Security, who worked in the Defense Attache's office in Richard Armitage, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Inter-Shackley, who were responsible for covert operations in Asia; he named were CIA operatives Jerry Daniels and Theodore them to a covert CIA operation in the region. Among the officials United States officials of involvement in the opium trade, linking disclosures by Khun Sa, the former Green Beret accused several glamp out the drug trade. In his testimony, which was based on me me and insisted that the government was determined to officials countered that Gritz's allegations were And And Burma had done little to eradicate to eradicate to trace of the formation of the following t Medrug suppression program in Southeast Asia, sind and Burma had four in Southeast Asia, Despite hundreds of millions of dollars of U.S. taxpayers, military material and men, but he turned them down because he manpower, time, and materials financed by U.S. disliked Communism.

Khun Sa claims to have over eight million peor.

Khun Sa claims to have over eight million peor.

Gritz stated that Khun Sa's ledgers showed that the U.S. instation chief for Thailand and Laos.

purposes so the Thais could claim they were doing their part in the border for a Fort Benning-style "map minute" for press appease Washington. Khun Sa agreed to let Thai officials visit proached the kingpin and proposed that a "show" be staged to elements which profit enormously from the opium trade apfor lacking enthusiasm in its war against Khun Sa, certain Thai Government came under criticism from the United States in 1987 contraband—in order to fund covert operations When the Thai smuggling, to the extent of buying, selling, and transporting the telligence community became an active participant in drug

chem, the Thai officials had to build the road for Khun Sa. mid gnisdeft.

Drugs, the U.S., and Khun Sa, the Heroin King

ked Communities to have over eight million people under his

close to the southern Chinese province of Yunnan. Communists, who tend poppy fields east of the Salween River to field sources, Khun Sa's supply comes mainly from Burmese the Golden Triangle, and then processes it into heroin. According grower of opium but rather buys the raw material from others in Detween 6,000 and 8,000 men. The Shan State itself is not a major of his Shan United Army, but it is estimated to be anywhere remines of which Hong Som. He declined to state the strength Chiang Rai, and Mae Hong Som. He declined to state the strength domination in the Thai provinces of Chiang Mai, tremities of which border the Thai provinces of Chiang Mai, tremities of which border the Thai provinces of Chiang Mai, Khun Sa Citanna domination in six 'provinces' of the Shan State, the southerner, domination in six 'provinces' of the Thai provinces of Chinese

KHUN SA, THAILAND AND THE U.S.

the United States. thought Gritz would be able to relay his offer to high officials in missing in action during the Vietnam War. Khun Sa stated that he State seeking assistance from him while searching for Americans Lt-Col. James "Bo" Gritz had made several trips into the Shan Khun Sa readily confirmed that retired U.S. Marine Corps

modating 10-ton trucks, was ironically built by the Thai Govempony caravans to get the drugs out. The road, capable of accom-Sa's Shan United Army would no longer have to rely on mule and panel's International Narcotics Control Task Force that Khun Shan territories. The maverick MIA-searcher emphasized to the road that would boost the flow of narcotics from the kingpin's Affairs Panel, under oath, that the Thai Government had built a But Gritz had no success when he told the House Foreign

some some political politi mountaines and the Thai-Burma border. The article stated that ment was going to blow up several kilometers of a seldom while the Bangkok Post, stated that the Thai The heavest as small item hidden in the back pages of an analy believed—a small item hidden in the back pages of an over existed—a story that the Americans s'insmeresting to note that despite the Thai Government's 8ni A nio 19 Heroin King

did delay blowing up the road for several weeks, although they sign The Thais and assassinate officials in Mac Hong Son. The Thais the destruction of the highway, he would bomb government the Thais that if they were to proceed with Three days later, another small item appeared saying that sed, so actually served no purpose.

ultimately did demolish five kilometers later.

DEUG MOVEMENTS

these affluent immigrants are believed to be financial backers for been naturalized while living in Bangkok. About one hundred of trafficking are mainly Chinese Haws and Taechews who have the world. In Thailand the major drug kingpins behind the land to Bangkok where they are expedited on their way around the Golden Triangle have been transported from northern Thaioverwhelming. Over the past several years, narcotics produced in drugs being transported through the country, but the flood is the Thai government work hard to intercept and destroy any jump-off points for the international markets. Some elements of ot snigino eniginom eti mon from its mountains onigins to Thailand is positioned geographically so that it contains ideal

the illicit trade.

THE TO

Drugs, the U.S., and Khun Sa

to be marketed meant a huge bonus for the officials. due to its scarcity, and the thousands of logs stacked up waiting a forcet rich in teak, Teak had become very valuable in Thailand densest jungle. The road was carved over mountains and through of the Victnam War, bulldozers which can hack roads throughthe ment that had been left in Thailand by the Americans at the end To do this, they used gigantic earth rippers and moving equip-

be political and educational. support, Khun Sa argued, did not have to be military, but could eradication of opium production in the Golden Triangle. The which he means, basically, money), he would guarantee the Shans support, both morally and through treaty obligations (by opment. Khun Sa proposed that if the United States gave the people could return to more normal methods of economic develwaged against them. If the fighting could be stopped, the Shan opium to fund their defense against the constant warfare being had been forced for their survival. The Shans needed to grow with the present conditions of the drug trade into which his people United States. According to Gritz, Khun Sa was not comfortable as the carrier of a message and an offer from Khun Sa to the Throughout his testimony, Lt-Col. Gritz presented himself

should investigate the road Gritz's allegations were very serious and said that the task force credible. At least one committee staffer, however, declared interpretation regarding the narcotics situation was no more Gritz had lacked credibility on the MIA issue, and that his tigated for a passport violation. A congressional source said that are—not far off the mark Instead, Gritz was subsequently invesperhaps they should have since Gritz's statements were—and No one on the committee took the proposal seriously, though

Super 100% (No. 1): This is Khun Sa's brand, certifying that Shorts brands that have been seized by the Thai police: 10—suomed are some of the more famous—or nose are now in Laos, opposite Thailand's Chiangsaen

"super" is written within the enlarged "1", above "100%". upp to the sear a circle with a tiger's head. The word upper comers bear a circle with a deer's head, while the two and artwork on the packaging of this brand is all red. The two he product is manufactured at Ta Khee Lek in Laos. The lettering

ing lion within a circle. This brand also comes from Ta Khee Lek Crouching Lion: The flaming red package shows a crouch-

A pair of rabbits with mountains in the background: This Kynu 23° in Laos and is produced by Mooser tribes under the control of

mountains in the background. bottom. A pair of green rabbits face each other in the center, with English across the top, and "Yong Yee Product" is written at the another brand of Khun Sa's, "Guaranteed 100%" is written in signifies the origin of the product as from the Shan State, also

bottom carries Chinese characters, This brand is produced in a blue globe. Written at the top is "Good Luck to You", while the A pair of thons with a globe: A couple of red lions are holding

er drug traders, Lo Chin Han and Lo Chin Ming. the original brand introduced and made notorious by two of the Figure Horse; Cards; Chinese Alphabets; and, Panda, Panda is name and trade mark stolen from the American cigarette); Lion; holding a Roman-style helmet; Dragon; Lucky Strike (both the Inited to: Super No. 1, 100%; Red Ilon holding globe; Two Ilons Other brands which are not Khun Sa's, include, but are not Burma by Khun Sa.

noigar

air, car, and railroad. Bangkok International Airport provides the Opium, morphine, and heroin leave Thailand by mule train, morphine, and heroin leave Thailand by mule train, Drugs, the U.S., and Khun sa Millian

authorities throughout Asia seize only a miniscule percentage of and the exploitation for drug trafficking is widespread. Hence, from Burma. Bribing local authorities is very easy in the Far East, officials at various levels in Yunnan allow the movement of drugs asked for anonymity, said there is substantial evidence that crack down on narcotics smuggling, but sources in Thailand, who away. It is generally believed that Beijing's official policy is to the ports of Canton and Hong Kong, some 2,000 kilometers move over China's relatively good road, air, and rail networks to southern Chinese province of Yunnan. From there, the drugs Bangkok. More drugs are sent north by packtrain into the Malaysia pass shipment by sea starts at the port of Klong Tocy in inces, while shipment by sea starts at the port of Klong Tocy in Malaysia pass through Songkhla, Narathiwat, and Yala Prov. asjor avenue routes used for transportation to other parts of Asia. Land routes used for transportation to at, cat, and ransport to Europe, America, Australia, and major avenue for air transport to Europe, America, Australia, and major avenue for air transport to Europe, America, Australia, and major avenue for air transport to Europe, America, Australia, and

vases, clocks, boxes of chocolate, and candy—you name it and pouches under clothing and girdles, Drugs have been hidden in at mow need event years they bed at nebbid to bewellaws rubber, and fresh fish; they have been packed in condoms and have been hidden in fumiture, orchida, canned foods, bales of raw drugs unless the officials have been tipped off in advance. Drugs biles to escape the eyes of authorities, making it hard to detect the Heroin is stashed in hollow places specially built in automo-

brand names being traded today come from Khun Sa's factories, only to real mames also determine profitability. Most of the busid sit of guilbroson moral to utilianp oth fauri stoyald

THE WORRISOME FUTURE

A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTICULAR OF THE

CONTRACTOR OF THE CONTRACT OF CONTRACTOR OF THE WIXED PROGNOSIS STATES OF STATES OF

conseques president to associately decrease between supply Crescent totals to a new range of between 735 and 1,360 metric Mexico. Afghanistan increased production, bringing the Golden largest percentage of increases in the Golden Crescent and Worldwide opium production increased in 1987, with the

if trafficking is to be stopped. Bullion State Stat Enforcement in Pakistan is still weak and must be strengthened since 1980; there are now an estimated 660,000 Pakistani addicts. aging results. Heroin abuse in Pakistan has grown significantly is hoped that this modern eradication method will yield encourspraying to destroy poppies in specific areas under its control; it been effective. Pakistan has, however, begun to employ aerial tions in Government-controlled areas where enforcement has by its ban on poppy cultivation) nearly offset significant reducthe control of the Government of Pakistan (and not yet covered Opium production increases in tribal areas currently outside

an effective campaign against laboratories and drug caravans. Burmese law enforcement and military officials have launched fully eradicating over 16,000 hectares in 1987. In addition, also sought to destroy opium through aerial eradication, successconcern to the United States as a conduit for heroin. Burma has curtailed over the past several years, though Thailand is still of metric tons. Thailand's opium cultivation has been significantly largest opium producer, cultivating between 1,095 and 1,575 was not as sharp; although the region continues to be the world's In Southeast Asia the rate of increase in opium production

Drugs, the U.S., and Khun Sa

sells as briskly as it did in earlier days. products. The brand remains famous among drug users, and it his own manufacturing facilities, he used the Panda brand for his Wan), a former subordinate of these early drug kingpins, set up When Lao Su (whose aliases include Su Wan Ho and Wanko Sae

appearing on the scene around the world. 1,280 kilos of heroin tion to 1200 tons this year is true or not, more and more drugs are Whether Khun Sa's statement that he will increase produc-

with drugs. policemen, soldiers, and politicians have also been apprehended Australia, Los Angeles, Miami, and New York. Several Thai largest seizures on record have taken place in Hong Kong, Spain, were seized at Bangkok's Klong Toey Port in February 1988. The

Khun Sa is a shrewd and conniving person—a survivor—and remains that vast amounts have materialized around the world, Khun Sa, I could believe it. But whatever the case, the fact Maybe Gritz's story of Khun Sa's offer is true. After meeting

doubled the production of heroin in the Shan States. in the history of Thailand has kept his word. Maybe he has Maybe, just maybe, the man with the highest price tag on his head is not averse to manipulating anyone whom he feels can help him,



10

of continues to be the elimination of opium production in s'inse poppy crop has been eradicated. The U.S. government's

paise the issue of opium and marijuana control with Lao officials one of Laos, U.S. Government officials will continue to Ional Library of U.S. Government narcotics control post and trafficking are expanding. Not-The opium production in Laos will continue to pose severe .0661 yd bnelien

Crescent (Pakistan and Afghanistan) and Mexico. Afghanistan the largest percentage of increases occurring in the Golden Worldwide opium production increased in 1988 as well, with In both bilateral and multilateral forums.

aging results. Heroin abuse in Pakistan has grown significantly hoped that this modern eradication technique will yield encourdestroy farmers' poppies in specific areas under its control; it is Pakistan has, however, begun to employ aerial spraying to ment-controlled areas where enforcement has been effective. poppy cultivation nearly offset significant reductions in governof the government of Pakistan and not yet covered by its ban on production increases in tribal areas currently outside the control totals to a new range of between 735 and 1360 metric tons. Opium escalated her production rapidly, bringing the Golden Crescent

heroin trafficking are to be stopped. weak and must be strengthened if heroin refinery activity and Enforcement and investigation procedures in Pakistan are still since 1980; there are now an estimated 660,000 Pakistani addicts.

was not as sharp; while the region continues as the world's largest The rate of increase in opium production in Southeast Asia

Thailand's opium cultivation has been significantly curtailed opium producer, cultivating between 1,095 and 1,575 metric tons

> A surprising increase in opium production has recently out, conversery, ir no continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials to continuing unchecked and may be sanctioned by some officials and may be sanctioned by some official and may be sanction But, conversely, it now appears that opium production in Language and may be sanctioned by some offer Drugs, the U.S., and Khun Sa Worrisome Future

Burma as to which is the largest single-country supplier of heroin the United States. Thus, it remains a toss-up between Mexico and considered insufficient to seriously decrease heroin supplies to 1987 eradication totals are less than those of 1986, which was of 45-55 metric tons—even after after eradication in 1987. The thought to be between 35-50 metric tons in 1986, at a higher range occurred in Mexico, where new estimates place production, occurred in Mexico, where new estimates place production,

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OPIUM AND HEROIN

areas controlled by anti-government insurgents. Republic of Burma to reach previously inaccessible cultivation equipment, and training, this spraying program allows the Socialist in 1985. Supported by U.S. Government funding for aircraft, programs, which had expanded every year since being introduction Burma, significant gains had been made in aerial eradication Burma and Laos. Until the recent change of government in 1,400 metric tons in 1988 and 1989, the bulk of it coming from Laos) will produce an annual opium crop estimated in excess of The countries of the Golden Triangle (Thailand, Burma, and

"bridge" assistance to farmers who agree not to cultivate or ment further reduce opium poppy cultivation by continuing FY 1988 budget provided funding to help the Royal Thai Governgovernment of Thailand's effective crop control policy. The U.S. Thailand's opium production continues to decline due to the

A MANAGERAL COMMENTAL COMMENTS

noitevitho eidennes ni seestoni increant incolingie e batesibni 8891 an mi anogat, assats lanoitibati in bateviliuo anaujinam adi to noing while Colombia was again successful in climinating a large and the United States markets. To some amendation of the fire timple largest source of -solitera richemina i contrabil mi antonoventemi antoroti agricus. deline tone a decembrate also confidence a very successful SASE NO WOLF WHEN SE OF ANOTHER OF ANOTHER OF SASE archimes at south or total area and expensive in the following the following the following the state of the following the following the state of the state of the following the state of the state o no arge argain and arif 1880) and 1900 on beneating gaining

during 1988, but there are no definitive data on the amount of Increases in Southeastem Asian cannabis were also evident in the area of 3,435 to 7,760 metric tons. Lucas Mountains. Net manijuana production in Colombia ranged nes out ni bas ederU do Ilud oil use seare lenoitibert-non a

a high price on the international market. eliminate its crop, which because of its high quality, commands ment is continuing to encourage the Royal Thai Government to region, Thailand, Laos, and the Philippines. The U.S. Governcannabis cultivated in the major producing countries in the

strong third place in marijuana production in 1988, behind situation was the evidence that the United States itself was a One disturbing development in the worldwide marijuana

Mexico and Colombia.

TRAFFICKING ORGANIZATIONS

particularly in Latin America and Asia. Trafficking organizanetworks continued to wield extraordinary power and influence, During 1988, it was apparent that major drug trafficking

> The surprising increase in opium production was in Mexico, may be sanctioned by some officials of the Lao Peoples Demoappears that opium production in Laos continues unchecked and rebellion, all government efforts have ceased for the present, h uprising against the unpopular government and because of the laboratories and heroin caravana, Unfortunately, 1988 saw at military officials have faunched an effective campaign against Thousand he mental in 1987. In addition, law emforcant and the property of the section of the property and the property of the through action and successor in tobaccours and successor in the cradical and another another and another anoth A some many of articles to articles only and annual and annual and

single-country supplier of heroin to the United States. supplies in the United States. Mexico thus remains the largest were not considered sufficient to have an impact on heroin The 1987 eradication totals are less than those for 1986, which as yet not available, but appear to have increased significantly. 55 metric tons even after eradication in 1987. Figures for 1988 are between 35 to 50 metric tons in 1986, in a higher range of 45 to where new estimates place opium production, thought to be

juana eradication and seizures in source countries, marijuana 10,930 to 17,625 metric tons. Despite significant gains in marition in countries supplying the U.S. market was in the range of the increase occurring in Mexico and Colombia. Total producafter eradication, by 25 percent during 1988, with more than half Foreign (outside the U.S.) marijuana cultivation increased,

raffickers will be a hollow one. and ammunition to Latin American governments, the war against sasistance and reviews the specific issues of providing weapons that, until it provides intensified military and paramilitary countries. It is possible that the United States will have to face the

organizations. information which will result in the dismantling of trafficking fickers. It is hoped that this incentive will produce high quality for information leading to the arrest and conviction of drug traf-\$500,000 per case (possibly smaller awards totaling \$500,000) Omnibus Drug Act of 1986. The Act authorizes payment of up to 1987, the U.S. Government offered its first rewards under the nations deal with trafficking networks more effectively. And in Trafficking incorporates several provisions which will help The draft by the United Nations Convention on Narcotics

ized system, amorphous and infinitely variable. The system is International drug trafficking is a complex and decentral-

Traffickers run the gamut from individual entrepreneurs to responding rapidly to enforcement pressures. flexible, operating differently in various cultures and capable of

gurb aclustracq products from one country to another generally specialize in a gents, Those responsible for smuggling opium, and cannabis -nuent and organizations, including terrorists and insurfrom one country to another. In between is a full continuum of egund lo soitineup ognel gainoqement rol equantities of drugs market. At the other end are organizations that own or lease fleets purchase drugs, either for personal use or for resale in a local one end of the spectrum is the individual who crosses a border to tightly run, highly disciplined, well-financed organizations. At

> Many countries seem to be unable, or unwilling, to take a indicate, traffickers will stop at nothing to protect their profits, where a prominent judge was murdered in the early part of 1988 cated by events in Colombia, such as the courthouse massacre tions are well-armed, well-manned, and well-funded. As indi-DS uny y pup "S" our 's8nic

remain in jail as part of the Camarena trial. the torture of DEA agent Victor Cortez. Over sixty individuals underway for the murder of DEA agent Enrique Camarena and yet arrested a major cocaine trafficker. In Mexico, trials are major traffickers to the United States. Moreover, Bolivia has not Colombia has not yet acted affirmatively to extradite any more major traffickers to justice. Despite assurances to the contrary, the release of Jorge Ochoa, set back international efforts to bring such as the the de facto nullification of the extradition treaty and hailed as a courageous act, but subsequent events in Colombia trafficker, Carlos Lehder, to stand trial in the United States was stand against major drug traffickers. The extradition of a major

cannot substitute for domestic political will and effective law imprison traffickers operating within their borders. Extradition remains in the interest of all countries to arrest, prosecute, and tion is a critical tool in efforts to bring traffickers to justice, it still tries are going to do battle with major traffickers. While extradijudicial systems are necessary if producing and trafficking coun-It is clear that better intelligence and stronger legal and

uasffickers are operating with impunity in many Latin-American done regionally as well as on a country-by-country basis, since dismanding of major trafficking networks. Such aid must be Latin American and Asian governments, particularly in the There is a need for the United States to increase assistance to

producing nations are themselves rarely used as laundering activities from their laundering operations; therefore, the druglengths to compartmentalize their production and trafficking Kong, and the Channel Islands. Drug traffickers go to great Panama, the Bahamas, the Cayman Islands, Switzerland, Hong where some combination of these characteristics exist, such as ciently. Historically, money laundering centers have developed system sophisticated enough to handle large transactions effithat assure bank secrecy; little or no tax liability; and a financial dable currency with no foreign exchange controls; regulations ons. Drug traffickers prefer a stable political climate; a hard, -sgussyni seulnos of serve to confuse investiga-

centers.

U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICY

countries. Or, the President may deny certification, causing States require the contingent provision of foreign aid to such these terms on the grounds that the national interests of the United the President may certify countries that would not qualify under trafficking, and (3) money laundering operations. Alternatively, on its own to eliminate or reduce (1) illicit drug production, (2) with the United States in the previous year, or took adequate steps ing country or major drug-transit country which cooperated fully requires the President to certify every major illicit drug producdent of the United States by the following March first. The law major drug transit countries, pending certification by the Presiassistance be withheld from major illicit drug producing and 1986 requires that, at the start of each fiscal year, certain kinds of Section 2005 of P.L. 99-570 of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of

> When loyalty ends, however, the veil of goodwill drops fickers are frequently viewed as local heros, particularly in impoverished areas. where its processing activities are conducted. Thus, drug trafpeople who live in the areas where the organization is based, or including caring for their families. This same pattern extends to usually provide continuing support for those who are arrested, survive. The leaders pay their underlings generously, and they they share several characteristics that enable them to succeed and Although drug trafficking organizations vary considerably, Drugs, the U.S., and Khun Sa

quickly. Any member of the organization who violates the code

directly, vengeance is commonly directed against family members. with death. In those instances where retribution cannot be taken of secrecy, or cheats, or informs on the organization, is threatened

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ized system, unorphone and minimizative

The laundering process typically involves using foreign means of financing drug production and trafficking ventures. making it appear legitimate; such schemes also provide the dering schemes disguise the true nature of drug-derived money, origins—a vital component of drug trafficking operations. Launmore manageable form while concealing or obscuring its illicit boss. Laundering is the process of transforming this cash into a processing, and transport of drugs—not to speak of profits for the moving out of the consuming countries to support the production, and therefore the system handles huge amounts of currency At the lower echelons the drug economy runs largely on cash,

as dummy corporations, which provide plausible explanations bank accounts and a series of intermediate money shelters, such

Smin I smostriow M

suppression objectives.

describing "total" so that full cooperation can be statutory sanctions to be imposed, Drugg, the U.S., and Khun Sa

partment of State has looked to the law, before and after amending recommendations on certification to the President, the Dedrug trafficking, and drug-related money laundering. In weighwith the United States in regard to preventing drug production, consultation with the Congress on country determinations and fully" with the United States, or taken adequate steps on their own drug producing and drug transit countries have "cooperated E891 linus 1791 month dall, which from 1971 until 1983 quires that the President certify to the Congress whether major meaning in particular circumstances. The precedents lie in Section 481(h)(2)(A) of the Statement of Certification re-

Section 481 (h)(3) requires that the President, in making cer-"cooperated fully". ment P.L. 99-570, for guidance in determining the criteria for

of money-laundering laws, willingness to enter into MLATs, and the laundering of drug-related profits as evidenced by enactment violators), and to (2) eliminate to the maximum extent possible ing (as evidenced by seizures, and arrest and prosecution of illicit cultivation and to suppress illicit manufacture and traffickto: (1) enforce to the maximum extent possible the elimination of government has taken legal and law enforcement measures State Department. The President must also consider whether the maximum reductions in illicit drug production, as assessed by the whether the actions of a particular government have resulted in tifications of cooperation, shall give foremost consideration to

important when considering possible remedial actions This two-year appraisal of likely future action is especially programs and actions that were planned for 1988 and beyond. seeking aid, the President is also required to critically view any In considering the past performances of foreign countries other cooperation on money laundering.

However, use of such terms of "

relimis on si shout the statute; but there is no similar Troduction-related definitions of "major", quantitative, using drug-trasfficking country or a "major" money-laundering counasked Congress for further guidance on what constitutes a "major". For the second year in a row, the Department of State has "major" traffickers and destabilize networks. every country can, and must, do more to arrest and prosecute

before the traffickers overwhelm governmental efforts. Virtually

countries must do more to curb narcotics related corruption

programs, could and should have done better. A large number of

tions. Other countries, including several with well-established

gies and added new resources to increase their potential reduc-

cultivation, but those countries adopted new programs or strate-

tries could not keep pace with traffickers' efforts to expand

certification. It has been found that the programs of some coun-

numerous factors including relative capability to achieve narcotics

"maximum achievable reductions" as being variable, a result of

481(f), introduced in 1983 the concept of "cooperation" and

and social factors that affect illicit drug production. Thus, Section

problem, and (2) the climatic, geographic, political, economic,

onsideration of: (1) the nature of the illicit drug production

specifies that such consultation shall inter alia include

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There are, then, many gray areas in the recommendations on

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which the United States Government

Sum Horrisome Future

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Several factors

vides details on regional and country strategies, budgets, and IMM's FY 1989 Congressional Budget Presentation (which prothe DEA, the Customs Service, and other enforcement agencies. report must contain specific comments and recommendations by amendment to the State Department's 1988 authorization, the controlled substances into the U.S. In accordance with the Senate ing the entry of illicit narcotics, psychotropic drugs and other and roles of the United States Government in prevent-Reliable illicit drug production and to assess the policies, Relations and the Committee on Foreign Affairs to review gont and must meet with members of the Committee on Foreign and recommendations on the State Department's

outgunned, and outspent by narcotics criminals, violence, and by the stark fact that nations are outmanned, ment officials and law enforcement officers, intimidation and tion and trafficking were undermined by corruption of governrise. Efforts of nations around the world to stop narcotics producbig business and drug abuse levels all over the world continue to which was held in June, drug production and trafficking remain tional Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking (ICDAIT) sify during 1987 as manifested at the United Nations Internainternational commitment to narcotics control seemed to intencertain Latin American countries, particularly Colombia. While that narcotics traffickers organizations remain very strong in narcotics control efforts, but the year ended with the realization personnel saw some some grounds for optimism in international In 1988, while reviewing the last year's performance, field orograms) must also be submitted separately to Congress.

as well as the Agency for International Development 371 of Justice, Defense, Treasury, and Health and Human R gence Agency, and others. As required by law, the Departments (DEA), the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intellisuch as U.S. Embassies, the Drug Enforcement Administration Narcotics Matters (INM) in consultation with other agencies is prepared by the Department of State's Bureau of International

A report intended to help the President in making his decision approval by a vote of both houses within 45 legislative days. subject, as specified by the 1987 amendments, to Congressional and drug trafficking countries. The President's certifications are tions to certify (or to refuse to certify) for major drug producing dential Decision Memorandum which contains recommenda-The State Department must submit to the President a Presitial discretion, the U.S. could impose a variety of trade sanctions. example, multilateral development banks. Further, at Presidenoppose new or extended loans to such countries from, for most other kinds of assistance. Moreover, the United States could remaining half of economic and military assistance as well as proves that certification, the law mandates the suspension of the major producing or transiting country, or if Congress disapcertification by the President. If the President fails to certify a kinds of economic and military assistance be withheld pending ance on narcotics control. The law requires that half of certain between provision of foreign assistance and positive perform-The statute makes it clear that there is a definite linkage contraband is intended for markets other than the United States? is directly or indirectly involved in transit? Or whether the What weight should be given, for example, to whether a country numerical basis in law for trafficking and money laundering.

Drugs, the U.S., and Khun Sa

nower and their fear of extradition. is yet another graphic illustration of both the drug traffickers, rafficker. The murder of Colombia's Attorney General in 1987 so far, been unable to successfully try and convict any major drug colease of Jorge Ochoa from a Colombian prison. Colombia has, 1979 extradition treaty and, further, by the December 1987 the Colombian Supreme Court's de facto nullification of the

States' success in containing the supply of illicit narcotics. of interdicting cocaine shipments in Mexico, limited the United Heroin trafficking in both countries, coupled with the problems both countries produced as much opium as they had in 1987. Despite some positive gains in Mexico and Pakistan in 1988,

One of the most vivid lessons learned during 1988 is that

grams and intensified interdiction in order to put pressure on links to complement eradication programs with enforcement procannot solve the problem. It is becoming increasingly necessary ing narcotics crops, at current levels of activity this technique remains the most efficient and cost-effective means of eliminatreduce the worldwide supply of narcotics. While eradication current eradication programs, while essential, are insufficient to

Thailand's 1987 opium production increased slightly, alin the trafficking chain.

ers will replant, often increasing the crop when their profits are areas. Colombia's experience in 1988 demonstrates that traffickindicates cultivation has increased in non-traditional growing traditional growing areas, but the most recent (late 1987) data auccessful in eliminating major portions of its marijuana crop in recent decline as a major opium producer. Colombia has been Laos and Burna have more than compensated for Thailand's though the total is still below levels of earlier years. However,

> amount of coca leaf required for conversion into cocaine conmarijuana consumed in the United States, and one-seventh the after being transformed into heroin, three times the amount of four times the amount of opium that reaches the United States coca leaf, and 17,585 tons of cannabis. These figures represent crops, destroying 283 metric tons of opium, 5,046 metric tons of tories) joined the United States in attempting to eradicate their which Burma and Thailand are the only Southeast Asian signathe supply of illicit narcotics. In 1987, twenty-three countries (of their eradication campaigns as a relatively efficient way to reduce Sood not many countries increasingly looked towards bolstering good news was that opium and marijuana eradication levels were aging but not hopeless year in international narcotics control. The

dence of its commitment to eliminating the opium poppy. announced its decision to employ chemical eradication as eviployed both manual and chemical eradication. And Pakistan marijuana crop by adopting an eradication program which emhad been destroyed. Jamaica made significant inroads against its eradication program and by the end of 1987 over 1,000 hectares For the first time ever, Bolivia embarked on a voluntary coca

thereby reneging their obligations to the world community. continued to profit in varying degrees from narcotics cultivation, Some countries, such as Laos, Iran, Syria, and Afghanistan Colombia. Worldwide opium and marijuana totals were also up. cultivation continued to increase, with even greater expansion in While eradication gains were made in Bolivia during 1987, coca However, other developments in 1987 also proved frustrating.

128 Pay United States to stand trial in February, 1987, was or Colombia's bold decision to extradite Carlos Lehder to the

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Decoupable of the population o

bool to notiamination of food as to prevent contamination of food orbicides in marijuana eradication campaigns. However, safe the United States Government also urges countries to use setter crop estimates and verification of eradication are needed. mergorq beieggrain an integrated program, (3) Reduce the amount of manifuana entering the United mondidentify heroin refinence, and to eliminate corruption. or another opium cultivation, to intensify enforcement operations to onw seors for farmers in traditional opium growing areas who inprove strategies for crop destruction, to target development

(5) Eliminate major trafficking networks and cartels through dropped considerably, to less than 1% of the world total.) and subsequently instances of trafficking in Malaysia have those who traffick in heroin above a certain minimal limit is death traffickers with kid gloves. (For example, Malaysia's penalty for problems is to increase penalties, changing present laws that treat drug problems. Perhaps the best way to eliminate the trafficking demonstrate that she is seriously addressing her own internal governments to achieve this goal. But she must also has to efforts. The United States is willing and will work with other menace and see it in their best interest to intensify their anti-drug their peoples—recognize the global dimensions of the drug relations initiatives. This will be possible only after nations—and support for effective narcotics control worldwide through public (4) Discourage public tolerance of illicit drugs and stimulate grops and to prevent dangerous side effects to local people.

judicial systems, development of an effective legion of infor-

tion of money laundering, strengthening of countries' legal and

assets. This critical goal can be accomplished through elimina-

increased seizures and arrests, prosecutions, and forfeiture of

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assistance, public relations, and training. critical components: eradication, enforcement, development narcotics control problems. The NDPB strategy incorporates five and a five-year implementation plan to address international ocher government agencies during 1987 to construct a strategy reduce the supply of international narooties, INM worked with In forging a far-reaching, effective inter-agency strategy to threstened by extensive eradication and interdiction campaigns,

program objectives, targets of performance, milestones of activity, six major policy goals. Each goal is supported by appropriate adjusted to take advantage of unforeseen opportunities, sets forth This strategy, designed as a flexible plan which can be

and measures of effectiveness. The six goals are:

NDPB strategy also recommends that U.S. explores ways to will they decide to use herbicides against the coca crop. The satisfied that there is a safe and effective herbicide—only then virtually impossible unless Latin American governments can be of coca cultivation by 50% by 1993; however, this will be ics control. This goal could be accomplished by reducing levels ica to the United States through an integrated program of narcot-(1) Reduce the amount of cocaine shipped from Latin Amer-

place. What is needed is to make better estimates of production, narcotics control, basically by expanding programs already in Mexico to the United States through an integrated program of (2) Reduce the amount of heroin shipped from Asia and stered by U.S. Government training and equipment. intensified interdiction operations within host countries bolduring the following five years. Strong emphasis is placed on ing additional Economic Support Funds and Military Assistance strengthen the legitimate economies of Latin America by provid-

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commits additional critical resources, e.g., aircraft, economic support, and military funds. This is particularly true in Latin America, where an additional \$200-300 million in economic support may be necessary.

REDUCING DEMAND

According to the International Narcotics Control Board, "Too little is known about the actual extent of drug abuse, patterns of abuse, and shifts in such patterns. Periodic epidemiological surveys are essential to devising effective demandare essential in determining how effectively existing demandare essential in determining how effectively existing demandare essential in determining how effectively existing demandare essential in determining how offectively existing demandare for many years, the United States has collected data to For many years, the United States has collected data to

monitor the nature, extent, and public health consequences of drug abuse. Two national surveys accomplish this: the National Household Survey, which has been repeated every two to three years since its inception in 1972, and the High School Senior Survey, conducted annually since 1975. The results of these surveys, combined with reports from hospital emergency rooms and from medical examiners on drug-related deaths, provide a broad perspective on drug abuse trends and their public health consequences.

As result of many millions of dollars of extensive and sophisticated research, the United States knows that the drug abuse epidemic that began in the mid-1960s reached its peak in 1979. With the notable exception of cocaine, a drug which has found great approval amongst the middle- and upper-classess, found great approval amongst the middle- and upper-classess, drug abuse in the U.S. has decreased or remained steady since drug abuse in the U.S. has decreased or remained steady since

mants, and adoption of more effective international tools to be used against trafficking networks.

(6) Secure increased international cooperation in world-wide narcotics matters through diplomatic and program initiatives. By stressing the importance of international and regional cooperation, the United States hopes to engage a greater number of countries in narcotics control efforts. The U.S. Government is also committed to urging other developed nations to condition narcotics control, as well as increasing their commitment to multilateral narcotics control efforts, such as the United Nations for Drug Abuse Control. The U.S. Government is urging the United Nations to "certify" that countries are cooperating in narcotics control using the UN's own annual assessment of the world narcotics situation. The United Nations can and must take a more active role in drug reduction efforts rather than the largely passive role she now undertakes.

Control of cocaine has been designated the top control priority, and thus the bulk of U.S. Government anti-narcotics resources are currently dedicated to eliminating coca and interdicting cocaine. It is critical, however, to recognize that an exclusive focus on cocaine will most likely result in slackened attention to heroin and marijuana production and trafficking; therefore, the U.S. should be cognizant of this secondary consequence as it considers plans and resource allocations over the next five years.

Much of this hopeful strategy can be realized if drug production, the considers plans and resource allocations over the next five years.

ing and trafficking nations exhibit the necessary political will. In some cases this is possible without any additional U.S. financial assistance or hardware. In other countries, however, the necessary political will may not be forthcoming unless the U.S.

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moved singularly unsuccessful. and police to frighten adolescents into rejecting drugs. They Juch messages were purveyed by teachers, parents, physicians, ell-being, would forgo experimenting with harmful substances. base dilisad informed of the dangers of drugs to their health and gamony send eigerettes) were based on the rationale that young liaw est) agund ito discourage use of illicit drugs (as well Adin yd suo boinso emsigord doresearch programs carried our by NIDA. notinavary to ensam aldiesed bas asuds gurb to easure and aquous vinimininos des araunto atra

being employed to discourage drug abuse. One result has been have been successful in deterring the use of tobacco and are now young and healthy sports enthusiasts. Such techniques appear to from friends and from advertising images that portray smokers as taught counter-arguments to use when confronted by pressures media. Viewing films that depict real-life situations, students are of the pressures to smoke that come from both peers and the by youths and young adults. Young people are now made aware echniques that were first used to discourage cigarette smoking

In the search for better methods, authorities have utilized

drugs, in occupying these receptors, the addicting compounds called receptors, that are targeted by molecules of the addicting scientists have learned a great deal about specific cell types, their euphoria—and other effects. In the past two decades, heroin, cocaine, marijuana, and other addictive drugs produce into the brain to discover the sites where compounds such as On a more fundamental level, researchers are probing deeply the national and international "Just Say No to Drugs" campaign.

> when "black tar" heroin from Mexico. probably as a result of a torrent of crudely processed but highly thickets the the their sensitions there increased sharply, half a million, and those are lewer new users, However, beather. the fromthers of thereties abycens to beauthout off in the fill and

VALVERSE VIED PREVENTION PROCERAMS

citizens to take direct action against the problem. Although it is One effect of a successful awareness program is to encourage stan, Jamaica, Belize, Peru, Columbia, Paraguay, and Bolivia, Burma, Egypt, Nigeria, Thailand, Australia, Hong Kong, Pakieffective public awareness campaigns, including Malaysia, ber of other countries have also undertaken comprehensive and the country," while only 2% considered it unimportant. A numdescribed drug use as "one of the most serious problems facing illegal drug use to be an important national problem; 73% tute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), 98% of those queried considered dramatically. In a 1986 survey sponsored by the National Institolerated by significant sectors of U.S. society. That has changed safety. During the late 1960s and early '70s, drug use was abuse on families, schools, the economy, and public health and public awareness campaign focussing on the effects of drug five years, the United States has been the scene of a massive creating a climate which discourages illicit drug use. In the past war against drugs. Such programs can be quite effective in dangers of drug abuse and to mobilize public participation in the tion programs. Its purpose is to make the public understand the Public awateness is critical to the success of demand-reduc-

greater recognition of the hazards of cocaine use, and a tamishing States have greatly increased in the past two years, with much psychological disorders. Efforts to stem cocaine use in the United gal problems, 90% of the cocaine addicts showed no underlying many as 75 to 80 per cent of whom have suffered past psychologigogaine only about three times a week, Unlike heroin abusers, as lons, Twenty-two per cent required treatment although they used -isoq lainaganan to lanoisesional or managerial posipatients admitted to a Chicago treatment program were col-%252 near with the middle class, in one study, more than 25% and establish by students and by poor inner-city residents, but Rassic research carried out in the raid-1970s led three research The test covered one of year gaining very low quantities, "Crack" one directivities are unusually sensitive to excerne and are there is a great variation in users responses to excaine.

Stimulants other than cocaine, such as cathinone (khat), of the glamorous image formetly associated with cocaine.

phencyclidine (PCP), and inhalants (including chemicals found Hallucinogenic drugs such as lysergic acid denivatives (LSD), ziorvedad in modifying moods and other behaviors. -important naturally occurring substances called neurotransmitexample, that many drugs containing amphetamines deplete ine, are also subjects of NIDA research. It is now known, for caffeine, amphetamines, phencyclidine, and phenylproppanolam-

kidneys, and bone marrow. cause brain and nerve damage, and permanent injury to the liver, drug, in addition, inhalants (as well as other abused drugs) can and to search and to short of another year an agomical and dirw sould saket teath eagments derived out to some gamining bas no ingestrated behote in viberitem eouborg (zrestrobose moor as in gasoline, deaning fluid, paint thinner, and aerosol sprays such

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anabacture, has increased the already high use of this drug. cocaine that does not require dangerous volatile chemicals for its

to mind and body. The availability of "crack", a cheaper form of Cocaine has been aboun to have dissuitous effects on both

our of five were under the influence of slookol, manifuans, or

divers killed in wellicile accondents in Callifornia found that four

been implicated in automobile accidents. One study on 400 male

those seem in infants of alcoholic mothers. Drug abuse has also

learning disabilities, or psychomotor problems that resemble

babies are also more likely to have congenital abnormalities,

birth weights than mothers who are not drug users. The resultant

during pregnancy are more likely to deliver babies with lower

vealed, for example, that women who use cocaine or marijuana

of specific drugs that produce dependency. Research has re-

lar levels, drug abuse research also focuses on the health effects

long periods of time by the drugs that produce a "high".

In addition to such investigations at the cellular and molecu-

them to behave and respond to stress coherently are displaced for

physiologically because the normal substances that would enable

where the opiates act, Thus, heroin addicts function poorly

phins act are located in the same areas of the brain as the sites

and many other behaviors. The receptor sites where the endor-

opiates to control pain and regulate endocrine functions, appetite,

Called endorphins, these naturally occurring chemicals act like

certain compounds in the brain that are natural opioid substances,

groups, two of which were supported by NIDA, to discover

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success in succeeding months by administration spokesmen, heroin continues to pour into the country in unprecedented quantities, and there is every indication that the number of hard-cont addicts is increasing daily despite government reports to the contrary.

Until all countries of the world unite and decide to take a firm and unrelenting stand against traffickers, the war against drugs will continue to flounder. Rulers of countries involved in drug trafficking should be removed from office, either by their own constituents or a world police body established for this sole purpose, and under United Nation's supervision. It is this author's personal opinion that laws should reflect the punishment meted personal opinion that laws should reflect the punishment meted out by Malaysia; death to those who are apprehended with the

Congress. However, despite politically motivated claims of

vixon declared a "war on drugs" in a June 1971 statement to

massive public concem over the heroin problem, President

works of arban crime. After opinion polls began to show

and they now account for more than 75 percent of

Addicts are forced to steal in order to maintain their

denewaye that has turned America's inner cities into concrete

The sudden rise in the addict population has spawned a

minimum amount, or more, as set by the monitoring world body.

MOND. National Drug Policy Board (USA)

America is in the grip of devastating heroin epidemic which leaves no city or suburb untouched, and which also runs rampant abroad. And the plague is spreading—into factories and offices, young, into high schools, and more recently, into grammar schools. In 1965 federal narcotics officials were convinced that they had the problem under control; there were only 57,000 known addicts in the entire country, and most of these were confortably out of sight and out of mind in black urban ghettos, ing into white communities, and by late 1969 the estimated total had almost doubled—reaching an all-time high of 560,000, had almost doubled—reaching an all-time high of 560,000.

Research represents one of the key components upon which and elsewhere is providing vital new insights into the mechanisms of drug addiction and the development of prevention and treatment programs. The goal remains a society free from the abuse of drugs.

America is in the grip of the development of prevention and the abuse of drugs.

cians, are also sold illegally on the streets. Therefore, researchers are concerned with the abuse of sedatives and anti-anxiety agents most commonly used sedatives and tranquilizers are the benze search has shown that prolonged medication (six months or produce physical dependence on these drugs. Research represents one of the benze agence) with sedatives and tranquilizers at standard dosages can produce physical dependence on these drugs.

Research represents one of the benze as standard dosages can produce physical dependence on these drugs.

People's Police Force (Burma)

:DIA Royal Thai Government

(ARU) NCSK: International Narcotices Control Strategy Report

Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma

Shan State Army (Burma)

State Army. Their name is similiar to the former name of the of the Shan ethnic redels, has as its military arm, the Shan The Shan State Progressive Party, the northem faction

TRC's anned forces

Shan State in 1985 (Burma) private army before it joined two other rebel groups in the SUA: The Shan United Army is the former name of Khun Sa's

TRC's armed force before it was changed to SSA about three TRA: The Tai Revolutionary Army is the former name of the

TRC: The Tai Revolutionary Council's military wing. The Shan State Army (SSA), changed its name to Mong Tai Army (MTA) (Burma)

WNA: The Wa National Army; the armed force of the Wa minority rebels (Burna) UNFDAC: United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control

ACRONOYMS USED IN THIS BOOK

BA: Burma Army

BAF: Burma Air Force

BCP: The Burma Communist Party

Civil Air Transport, a CIA owned airline (USA)

Central Committee for Drug Abuse Control (Burma)

Central Intelligence Agency (USA)

Commission on Narcotic Drugs (UN)

Directorate of Defense Services Intelligence (Burma)

DEA: Drug Enforcement Administration (USA)

International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illict Trafficking (UN)

International Military Education and Training (USA)

International Narcotics Control Board (UN)

INM: Bureau of International Narcotics Matters (USA)

KIA: The Kachin Independence Army; the armed force of the Kachin minority rebels (Burma)

LDPR: Laos Democratic People's Republic

NDPB: National Drug Policy Board (USA)

NIB: National Intelligence Bureau (Burma)

NIDA: National Institute on Drug Abuse (USA)

Office of the Narcotics Control Board (Thai)

PEO: Program Evaluation Organization (USA)

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METRIC CONVERSION TABLE

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Liter	= 2.1 U.S. pints or 1.05 U.S. quarts
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Kilometer (km)	səlim 220. =
Meter	sədəni 7E.9E 10 1991 E.E =
Centimeter	sədəni 4.0 =

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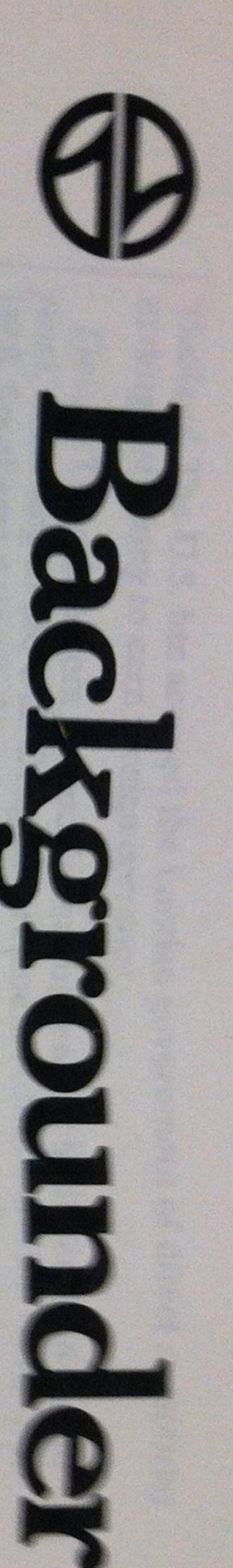
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September 15, 1989

TO THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE

marijuana. from Central and South America. for illegal drugs in the United States and combatting the flow of narcotics George Bush last week rightly focused attention on stemming the demand These are the major sources of cocaine and

heroin originating from Southeast 25 percent increase in heroin-related hospital emergencies was recorded during the past three years, from 12,522 cases in 1985 to almost 15,800 in 1988. Heroin seizures have skyrocketed: 370 kilograms (814 pounds) of heroin originating from Southeast Asia alone were seized in 1988, over triple Americans, however, also face a drug threat from Southeast Asia; heroin, A 1986 figure.

in jungle labs along the Burmese Some also is smuggled through China and India. In Laos, heroin is produced Chinese through Thailand to New from Burma's northeastern Shan State, then is smuggled primarily by in the notorious (even legendary) between Burma, Laos, and Thaila which is produced in jungle labs from opium taken from poppy plants grown U.S.-consumed heroin. Southeast Asian heroin is made from morphine, believed to exceed Southwest Asia and Mexico as the chief source of Jungle Labs. The root of the heroin problem is Southeast Asia, now Thailand. Most Golden Triangle heroin comes border, then shipped through Vietnam and York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. "Golden Triangle" - the border region

Ibid. p. 86. National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee, 1988 Report, p. 68.

in drug trafficking to earn foreign currency. Thailand. The U.S. has accused the Laotian government of direct complicity

Golden Triangle heroin production has increased significantly in recent years, according to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), In 1988, Southeast Asia produced an estimated 1,833 tons of poppy, up from much as 2,400 tons. This is due to favorable weather conditions, the cessation of anti-narcotics efforts late last year by the Burmese government, and the cancellation of U.S. drug interdiction programs in Burma.

vigorously. 3 between the spraying program was cancelled by was widely criticized as ineffective in stemming opium production. This spraying program was cancelled by the U.S. in late 1988 to protest Rangoon's political crackdown in August of that year. Moreover, strained relations between the U.S. and Burma and Laos have left the DEA with little leverage Laos. In addition, U.S. assistance to Burmese herbicide-spraying operations the Golden Triangle were only partially successful. The U.S. provided intelligence, training, and communications support for Thai Border Patrol Police operations in the early 1980s against jungle heroin labs along the northwestern Thai border. These efforts, however, often were stymied by the counter the narcotics trade more

Asia's Golden Triangle. Specifically, entire smuggling pipeline, the While a heroin strategy demands S. should direct new programs against an interdiction effort extending across the at the source of the problem, Southeast the Bush Administration should:

- leverage with Laos to force tougher Urge Japan and the Soviet Union to use their economic and political
- ginating from Burma. Urge China to expand its interdiction efforts against narcotics measures against narcotics trafficking
- alternatives that will decrease peasant reliance on opium cultivation. Encourage Laos to work with the U.S. private sector in developing
- anti-narcotics forces. Provide communications and technical assistance to Thai
- Urge Thailand to increase i-narcotics cooperation with Burma
- Southeast Asia and encourage increased participation by Laos and Burma. Expand the number of U.S. customs training seminars conducted in

Program Party, but still is believed to wield behind-the-scenes control in The Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, renamed this June as the Union of Myanmar, is a military dictatorship. From 1962 until 1988, a military-led government under strongman Ne Win promoted socialist economic policies while keeping Burma isolated from the rest of the world. In July 1988, Ne Win resigned as chairman of the ruling Burma Socialist

block Rangoon's attempts to rule the outlying provinces. Kachins, Karens, Shans, and Wa. Dozens of insurgent groups continue to ethnic Burmese, has faced rebellions by non-Burmese minorities such as the Since its independence in 1948, the Burmese government, dominated by

Triangle's heroin. Cash Crop. Child 1909, Burmese Communist Party (BCP) and the Mong Lai November Burmese Communist Party (BCP) and the Mong Lai November Aller (MTRA), led by the infamous drug warlord Khun Sa. This April, however, (MTRA), led by the infamous drug warlord Khun Sa in control of most of the Golden Cash Crop. Until 1988, Burma's narcotics trade was dominated by the

has been the only cash crop for the past decade. Poppy has several advantages: it can be easily collected; it is relatively small in size and easy to transport; it can be kept for long periods; and it can be used as a medicine. No other cash crop offers all these benefits to the peasant farmer in Burma. To fuel his heroin operation, Khun Sa buys poppy cultivated by peasants in Burma's northeastern Shan States. For the Shan minorities in Burma, poppy

through China and India. mainly is smuggled through Thailand. Other routes bring the finished product thus enabling the drug lords to retreat across international boundaries when Burma-Thai border. Many of these straddle the border and can be moved, The poppy grown by Shan farmers is refined in jungle labs on the

easily able to plant more poppy to maintain their output. sickness and destroying legitimate cash crops. Lastly, Shan farmers were people, vegetable fields, poppy patches are small and hard to identify, aircraft invariably sprayed people, vegetable fields, and animals outside the targeted areas, causing Spraying Poppy Patches. To stem the heroin flow from Burma, Washington last year provided Rangoon \$8 million for drug suppression. Key to this effort was crop eradication using the herbicide 2,4-D. Last year, Burma sprayed 30,888 acres with 2,4-D; its effect was limited. For one thing, Burma's climate and mountainous terrain dispersed the herbicide. For another, because

Thunder XII against heroin refineries along the Thai border. Three refineries were destroyed and large quantities of processing chemicals were seized. In addition to the herbicide eradication program, the Burmese government also launched military operations in areas dominated by drug lords. Example: in early 1988 the Burmese army launched what it called Operation Rolling

returned to Rangoon, most observers doubt that the Burmese authorities will resume any significant anti-narcotics program in the near future. the countryside to the capital, giving drug dealers a free rein along the border. Recent reports even indicate that opium caravans have been passing through Burma with the acquiescence of the military. While political calm has crackdown by cutting off all assistance programs; Rangoon retaliated by Free Rein for Drug Dealers. Following Rangoon's bloody suppression of pro-democracy demonstrations in August 1988, Burma's anti-narcotics efforts were set back. That September, for example, the U.S. protested Burma's

year over last year. This wo half of the world's harvest. techniques, are expected to boost Burma's opium production 25 percent this good weather conditions, an increased use of fertilizers, and better planting Burma's reduced pressure on drug traffickers, combined with this year's This would amount to at least 1,600 tons of opium, over

government rule. independent Hmong, who long have been persecuted for resisting central half of the population. Among several important minorities are the fiercely government is dominated by ethnic Laotians, who constitute slightly less than The Kingdom of Laos officially became the Lao People's Democratic Republic in December 1975 following a communist takeover that May. The

the U.S. government to heroin and marijuana production and smuggling through Vietnam to the West. provinces dominated by hill tribe trafficking to raise hard currency. Coordinating much of Laos's drug flow is the Mountainous Area Development Corporation (MADC), a shadowy government agency closely linked to the military, which oversees activities in provinces dominated by hill tribe minorities. The MADC has been linked by Among the world's dozen poorest nations, Laos in recent years has sought foreign aid and trade. Vientiane also is believed to have turned to narcotics

decertification was symbolic. servicemen missing from the war in Southeast Asia. If a country is "decertified" by the U.S., it may face a cut-off of U.S. security and economic assistance. In the case of Laos, which receives no U.S. assistance, the threat of opium lest it jeopardize Vientiane's cooperation in resolving the Half-Hearted Cooperation. The U.S. government became aware of official Laotian involvement in the drug trade during the mid-1980s. However, the U.S. consistently "certified" Laotian progress in combatting the production o

of Laotian heroin was discovered in heroin in New York City. Two mont While Vientiane retained its certification from the Reagan Administration, Laos continued to produce narcotics smuggled into the U.S. In January 1988, for example, the DEA seized 35 kilograms (77 pounds) of Laotian-refined San Diego. A sweep by the Laotian hs later, over 56 kilograms (123.2 pounds)

returned to normal after just two months. military in June military in June 1988 allegedly destroyed two refineries, but most observers considered the Laotian effort half-hearted and heroin activity reportedly

abuse education and a U.S. customs training program. for the first time sent participants to decrease peasant dependency on opium cultivation. And this summer, Laos U.S., including economic development plans for hill tribes, that could Bush Administration decertified Laos this March. For the first time, Washington officially accused a foreign government of active involvement in drug trafficking. While Laotian officials initially criticized the U.S. decision, Reluctant Efforts. In a departure from the Reagan Administration, example, Laos this year agreed to consider bilateral projects with the reductantly have begun making an effort to curtail illegal drug smuggling. U.S. seminars in Southeast Asia on drug

MADC has been announced. As a result, opium production, which has risen steadily since 1984, is likely to increase even more in 1989. This increase of traffickers to Laos from Thailand and Burma. could be further assisted by favorable weather conditions, and a recent shift Despite this progress, Laos has undertaken no known ceradication or interdiction effort this year. Moreover, no Laos has undertaken no known opium or marijuana reform of the

HAILAND

1,940 acres during this spring's harvest, half the total of three years ago. O the heroin refineries that still exist on Thai territory, ten were captured by this year. These efforts have decreased poppy Thailand. For example, Thai opium programs, and crop substitution projects sponsored by the Thai monarchy. including military clearing operations, United Nations development strived to eradicate narcotics smuggling in its sector of the Golden Triangle Bangkok has used several approaches in its anti-narcotics campaign, Thai military forces in 1988; six more were destroyed during the first half of The Kingdom of Thailand, one of cultivation and heroin processing in production is expected to have covered America's closest allies in Asia, long has

in smuggling major link in the Golden Triangle: most of the business operations involved trafficking, Thai drug arrests are produced in Burma passes through moved across the Thai border Cracking Down. Although poppy are located on Thai territory, and the vast majority of heroin into Burma and Laos, Thailand remains from 42,500 in 1987 to over 46,000 last Thailand to the West. To stem narcotics fields and heroin refineries largely have

International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, U.S. Department of State, August 1989, p. 105.

proposed law that will allow authorities to confiscate the personal property of convicted drug dealers; the law is expected to pass next year. year. In addition, the amount of confiscated heroin nearly doubled from 1.3 (2.4 tons) haul destined for New York that was discovered in February 1988 inside sixty-two bales of rubber. The Thai parliament also is reviewing a

Wet Phetborom was charged with heroin smuggling. Deputy Police Chief Possible extradition of Phetborom to stand trial in the U.S. next month to discuss the involvement in heroin smuggling. army July, the Thai police launched Investigating the Police. The U.S. long has taken a direct interest in Thailand's anti-narcotics efforts. The DEA has been active in Thailand, army units involved in drug interdiction operations. After U.S. prompting this

narcotics smuggling from the Golden Triangle. Although Thailand has made progress in stemming the drug flow through its territory, the U.S. still has reasons for concern. For one thing, since the 1988 upheaval in Rangoon, Thai-Burmese interdiction cooperation along the border has been downgraded to an occasional exchange of intelligence. For another, recent Thai efforts to promote timber trade with Burma have a network of border roads that could facilitate

PHING NEW ANTI-NARCOTICS POLICIES

poppy cultivation if given a chance. smugglers have proved too adept at finding new ways of disguising narcotics shipments. Moreover, Thailand's creation of a market infrastructure for alternative products shows that hill tribe minorities can be weaned away from and Thai customs interdiction alone cannot be an answer because drug needs an invigorated policy to stop it. This policy can learn from past lessons. For example, Burma's lack of success in aerial spraying proved that this method has only marginal value in eradicating opium plants. In addition, U.S. As Southeast Asian heroin arrives in U.S. cities in record amounts, the U.S.

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^{4 &}quot;Heroin Trafficking in Southeast Asia, Southwest Asia and the Middle East," Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, U.S. House of Representatives, August 1, 1989, p. 2. NNICC, 1988 Report, p. 84.

Asiaweek. July 28, 1989. p. 31. FBIS-East Asia, August 7, 1989, p. 60.

Asiaweek, July 28, 1989, p. 31.

The combat Southeast Asian narcotics, the U.S. should:

municipal mensures thus Japan and the Soviet against narcotics trafficking. Union to use their leverage with Laos to

transportation infrastructure and alternative occupational training for The sample, Tokyo has rebuffed Washington's attempts to have Juppy-producing hill tribes. motion aid program Orporation (MADC). Japan also Philippines. However, because of the importance of U.S. basing rights should insist that Japan do what it can to use its economic leverage that the program to reforms. Washington should urge Tokyo to link its mail program to reforms in the Mountainous Areas Development (MADC). Japan also can use its development aid to provide a one of the largest noncommunist donors of development aid

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's sincerity in improving Moscow's relationship with Washington. The the Soviets to push for reforms of the MADC and a resumption of Labrian eradication operations. The U.S. should use the measure of Soviet notian eradication operations. HOR Soviet Union, With Moscow too, considerable diplomatic and economic leverage

originating from Burma. Urge China to expand its interdiction efforts against narcotics

year involving hear involving Hong Kong and Chinese assistance to the Burmese (long Kong, Following U.S. requests in early 1988, China expressed an interest in cooperating in anti-narcotics operations. Several drug seizures that varamilitary roun the BCP and its drug trade in For decades, the Chinese connection to the Golden Triangle remains. Increasingly, P and its drug trade in support, Sino-Burmese ties the BCP imported from China chemicals needed to ommu Chinese connections were assisted by Beijing ent years, however, Beijing distanced itself an effort to improve ties with Rangoon. were strained because of Beijing's nist Party (BCP). In addition to

increased surveillance of the Sinointelligence sharing, customs train control of Hong Kong in 1997. Areas of cooperation should include reminded anti-narcotics efforts. Washington should press for increased coordination with Beijing on the narcotics efforts. This becomes especially important as China assumes that such cooperation would demonstrate its desire to work with Burmese border. China should be ng, and possibly U.S. assistance for reased coordination with Beijing on

The New York Theen, March 31, 1988, p. A5.

Square massacre. the West, especially after its image was tarnished following the Tiananmen

reliance on opium cultivation. ◆ ◆ Encourage Laos to formulate development programs with the U.S. private sector in developing job alternatives that will decrease peasant

increase its foreign currency earnings. U.S. protests have led Laos to begin some measures against drug trafficking on its soil, but official involvement in value to export, cash crop. Due The Hmong hill tribe minority in Laos traditionally has grown poppy as a h crop. Due to failed socialist economic policies, which give Laos little of Vientiane has become involved in heroin smuggling to

In recent years,

gemstone-related industries. the highlands and peasant hill tribes that traditionally have grown opium. In addition, gemstone cutting and jewelry manufacturing industries can be established inside Laos. Western businessmen, including Americans, already have shown interest in developing these sectors for Vientiane, but are inhibited by Laotian red tape. Washington should urge Vientiane to permit U.S. private companies to enter the highlands and establish joint development ventures in mining and other largely untapped industry in Laos, yet offers alternative occupations for government less reason to rely on drug smuggling as a source of hard currency. Alternatives do exist. Example: gold and sapphire mining is a West to improve its economic situation. This may give the Laotian Vientiane has sought increased aid and trade ties with the

anti-narcotics forces. Provide communications and technical assistance to Thai

Burma and Laos. operations have pushed major Khun Sa cost hundreds of Thai Thailand's army and Border Patrol Police long have fought drug traffickers on Thai soil. In 1982, a highly-publicized raid against drug lord heroin refining activity across the border into police casualties. Since then, Thai military

requests. smuggled in its products. because, as Thailand's exports have surged, so to has the amount of narcotics smuggled in its products. The Bush Administration is considering these advanced narcotics detection techniques. This is especially important May for X-ray scanners to detect heroin passing through Thai seaports. The Thai Customs Department also has asked Washington to train its officials in Patrol Police, continues. To improve its interdiction capabilities, Bangkok has turned to Washington for additional aid. For example, the U.S. was asked this efforts, including U.S. intelligence support and training for Thai Border Close coordination between the U.S. and Thailand on anti-narcotics

to heroin sa Police to gather data on drug bon The assistance, including long-range that will allow the Border Patrol The Burnese border, has asked for bolster Thailand's border forces, ide Burma and more quickly respond

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Crease anti-narcotics cooperation with

cooperation was severely border, Foll cooperan on to the poin III Of CO ISI 1988 political instability in Burma, this and Rangoon increased anti-narcotics military sweeps on both sides of the

Choonhavan has supple Burma. With its flour exercises of inviting a Burnese addition, Tha everage over B between the Th and U.S. armed forces proved economic and diplomatic ties with nones cooperation is now low, Thai economic non to view the June COBRA GOLD s agreements have been signed. y, Rangoon has encouraged these In

amount of heroin flowing out of the Golden Triangle. agreements reach the road systems betwee anti-narcotics operations With a record Ca both countries ese cooperation extend once again into the area This is especially vital because logging expected in the Golden Triangle this year, it and and Burma call for improvement in These roads could increase the

industry in other foreign businessmen to develop a industry in the Shan States as an alterna of the traditional region will be less of a securi efforts to improve the living standar U.S. and Thai officials should stress that a pacified, network to open the Shan States to legitimate trade activity. At the same time, a concerted Thai-Burnese oversight effort will be needed to insure that the roads are not used for drug singsling. While Burma initially may oppose away from poppy cul refineries along their common b Thailand and Burma should beg burgeoning economic leverage with Rangoon to adopt a two-track approach toward drug suppression in the Shan States. First, Burmese and Thai forces once again should coordinate minary operations against the main heroin can assist this effort by encouraging Burma to allow U.S. and animosity between the central government and the Shans, tate Trade. in the central government in Rangoon. MOD BOTH This can be done by main at a now. Second, des among Shan States minorities because der as they did in the early 1980s. Second, tive to poppy mining and gemstone-cutting ington should press Bangkok to use its be done by using the logging road more prosperous border cultivation.

Southeast Asia and encourage increased participation by Laos and Burma Expand the number of U.S. drug training seminars conducted in

seminars attend. narcotics proved a useful and easy way to expand understanding of narcotics smuggling and have helped forge improved U.S.-Laotian bilateral cooperation against narcotics trafficking. The U.S. should increase the number of training seminars and specifically invite participants from Vientiane and Rangoon to for the first time were attended by Laotians. Such sessions have

cocaine increased heroin smuggling from Southeast Asia. emphasized as heavily. With J reaching record levels, the U Hitting the Source. and crack. As a result, the threat from heroin smuggling has not been ized as heavily. With poppy cultivation in the Golden Triangle S. can not afford to neglect the threat of

source. invoke ports. More important are long-term eradication, interdiction, and development programs in the Golden Triangle that will stem the flow at its Combatting the increased flow of narcotics from Southeast Asia will require police action within the U.S. and interdiction efforts at key U.S. the Much more can assistance of other be done by the U.S.; and more must be done to nations.

Kenneth J. Conboy Deputy Director, **Asian Studies Center**

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